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CRISES AND DICTATORSHIPS*

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

MOST NATIONS have had some kind of "one man rule" at some time during their history. Dictatorship has been a common and recurrent form of this type of rule.¹ Among some ancient peoples, a dictator was provided for under certain conditions by the constitution; in the overwhelming proportion of instances, however, the would-be dictator, usually with the assistance of a clique or party, and at the opportune time, seized power which he wielded arbitrarily. In most cases, such dictatorial power has been held in an unorthodox, irregular, illegal, or extralegal manner, by the *post facto* invention of some fiction of regularity or constitutionality, or by belated approval involving some strained constitutional interpretation.

The present writer has examined some thirty-five instances of this latter type of dictatorship selected from ancient Greece and Rome, from Europe since the Middle Ages and up to the World War, from Latin America in the 19th and 20th centuries, and from postwar Europe and the Near East. These various historical and contemporary dictatorships have revealed many peculiar individual variations, as determined by their own particular times, the developmental stage of the country in which they appeared, their unique regional differences, their exceptional men, and the conditions as reflected concretely in their cultural traits and patterns. This is what one must expect among all natural phenomena, even those of the same type, regardless of whether they fall within the physical, biological, or social realm. At the same time, it is equally evident from the case analyses of this larger study that dictatorships have many striking and frequently recurring uniformities.² Of primary significance in this paper is the fact that dictator-

* Presented to the American Sociological Society at Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 29, 1939.

¹ See Jacques Bainville, *Dictators*, London, 1937; E. E. Kellett, *The Story of Dictatorship*, New York, 1937; Albert Carr, *Juggernaut: The Path of Dictatorship*, New York, 1939.

² Other articles of the present writer already published are: "The Causal and Contributory Factors of Dictatorship," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, Sept.-Oct. 1939, 3-21; "The Typical Life Cycle of Dictatorships," *Social Forces*, March, 1939, 303-309; "The Effects of Dictatorships," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, Nov.-Dec., 1939, 111-123.

ships, regardless of their constitutional or unorthodox nature, are a pattern of control which the logic of circumstances often tends to thrust upon people when certain crisis conditions prevail.

The Crisis Situation. The members of human societies are subjected to a variety of crises to which adjustment must be made. Crises induced by nature and individual life crises have been abundantly treated. More important from the point of view of this paper are the crises which develop from various social processes and have as their precipitating factors such things as financial panic and depression, invasion, war, revolution, civil strife, folk depletion, the breakdown of strategic institutions, and so on. These have been important and recurrent throughout history, they have affected social processes and social structures profoundly, but there is available very little competent and comprehensive analysis, either of the processes involved or the group adjustments necessitated by them. An attempt will be made here to synthesize and supplement the fragmentary material now available.

A certain degree of disorder, confusion and inadequate functioning of the social machinery appears to be endemic in all societies.³ Certainly no group or society functions perfectly. In fact, we must look to Utopias for conceptions of societies perfect in structure and function. However, this endemic disorder and inadequacy does not mean that a crisis situation exists. All societies can absorb a considerable amount of failure and discontent relative to existing institutions and conditions. Most social processes are carried on with fairly satisfactory results, there is no general feeling of unrest or insecurity or dislocation, and there are no demands for radical measures of readjustment or willingness to support them. Like the human body, human societies can and must endure many minor ailments and much tinkering.

While one cannot definitely determine the precise point at which what might be called "normal" disorder and confusion becomes abnormal, it can be said that a society must have a considerable amount of breakdown and inadequacy in its existing machinery to produce a crisis situation. We have a crisis only when we have a striking excess of incapacity, inefficiency, and insecurity of existing rulers and machinery. Furthermore, as LaPiere⁴ states,

No circumstance, however unusual, is a crisis unless it is so defined by human beings; that is . . . the individuals involved must either be aware of the danger which is actually present or else must believe that danger is present.

The social crisis is due to the disintegration, the over-rapid expansion of one or more of the strategic parts of the social system. The disintegration may be a gradual accumulation of socially disorganizing occurrences which

³ Cf. Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, 38, New York, 1938.

⁴ Richard T. LaPiere, *Collective Behavior*, 438, New York, 1938.

eventually destroy the old equilibrium. Due to some dramatic event, the people become conscious of the situation. On the other hand, a concatenation of circumstances, due to unexpected internal or external events, may occur with great rapidity and throw the people into a panic. In either case, whether the incubation of factors has been gradual or fairly sudden, the elements making for social disorganization have precipitated and the trend has reached a climactic stage. The social structure seems to be disorganized; series of problems present themselves which seemingly are insoluble by the old or existing social machinery—at least, in its disorganized state. There is serious disturbance of the habits, customs, values, and working life-patterns of the group. The functional efficiency of existing institutions and the conventional patterns of control are lessened or lost entirely. The old control personnel, deep in its ruts of tradition and established practice, is unable to cope with the situation.

Then the time comes when the group defines the situation as a crisis, tensions heighten to the breaking point, suppressed fears become panic, and everyone is aware of insecurity, but is helpless. The people are projected into the world of the unknown; they are at their wits' end. The ordinary and expected has been replaced by the extraordinary and unexpected. Fear becomes widespread; confusion and disorder reign; morale disintegrates. Many individual crises are induced. Chaos seems to threaten. Problems of survival, group solidarity, and welfare become of paramount importance. The dangers of irrational and precipitate action are greatly increased. The suffering people want escape or release from the crisis situation. Matters cannot be allowed to become worse; they must, if possible, become better. There is a demand for solutions, for order, fixity, and security, and a tangible, even though temporary, program of action. The great majority are willing to pay a price for these.⁵

The Demand for Regimental Behavior. Obviously such unprecedented disorganization cannot be prepared for in the organization of the society. Hence, in a crisis situation, the group finds itself unable to effect a collective solution of the highly complicated problem of reorganization. At the same time, there is the apparent need of concentrating power and control in order to centralize planning and facilitate orderly and constructive procedures. The situation takes on the characteristics of a military emergency.⁶ The entire community cannot function as a debating and voting society; it must be organized and marshalled for quick and decisive action. Stern discipline and absolute hierarchy of personnel culminating in a generalissimo is essential. In brief, a system of regimental behavior⁷ must be estab-

⁵ See also Irene T. Malamud, "A Psychological Approach to the Study of Social Crisis," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Jan. 1938, 578-592.

⁶ Thus, our own National Defense Acts of 1933, 1936, and 1939 give the president almost dictatorial powers, not only when war comes, but when a national emergency is declared.

⁷ The term is from LaPiere, *op. cit.*, 106.

lished. A befuddled and fearsome mass in time of crisis is nearly always ready, nay anxious, to give over control to anyone who gives evidence of ability to wield it efficiently. This situation, in turn, both demands and provides the opportunity for a leader or a cohesive minority group which offers a ready-made formula of social procedure and which promises a dynamic attack upon the problems. Hence, in time of crisis, a leader and his aides, either by invitation or by insinuation of themselves into the affair, are often gratefully accepted and permitted to arbitrarily reestablish the routines of social life. In times of disorder and distress, the benefits derived from the ruthlessly forceful organization of strict, unquestioning discipline often more than outweigh the benefits of liberty in the opinion of the people.⁸

Crises Preceding Dictatorship. Practically every dictatorship examined has been preceded by a period of confusion and emergency which terminated in crisis. In the times preceding the ancient Greek and Sicilian dictatorships, we note class antagonisms, civil war, ever-present threats of barbarian invasions, economic distress, rival cities, widespread violence. Preceding the Romans—Marius, Sulla, Caesar, and Augustus—there was civil war and foreign invasion, unequal distribution of wealth, mongrel and hungry populations, poverty, devastation, piracy and brigandage, expensive, and not often successful wars, rival cliques, sensational intrigue, revolts of gladiators and slaves, riots, conspiracies, and massacres. In the "age of despots" in the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, we find eastern and central Europe aflame with the Hussite revolt, the oncoming Turks were threatening Europe, and everywhere there was unrest and ferment; civil war between Guelf and Ghibelline, between city-states, and between plebeians and aristocracy flourished. The quarter century preceding Cromwell's dictatorship is a story of struggle between king and commons, dissolution of Parliaments, violations of the Petition of Rights, unsuccessful military exploits, religious strife, insurrection in Ireland, strife between king and Parliament, and successive civil wars. From a bankrupt treasury, a paralyzed monarchy, an incessantly turbulent nobility, warring religions, a people gaining neither wealth nor liberty, and a state internationally embarrassed, one comes to Richelieu's absolutistic administration. Behind Robespierre and Napoleon Bonaparte, there is the whole train of events which precipitated the French Revolution, and the confusion of the Revolution itself, with its conflict between Jacobins and Cordeliers, Girondists and Constitutionalists, its Reign of Terror, its defeated armies under the Directory, its coalition of powers against France, not to mention increased poverty, recurrent mob rule, and eternal confusion. Louis Napoleon is preceded by a corrupt public service, crushing taxation, economic depres-

⁸ W. E. Rappard, *The Crisis of Democracy*, 1-28, Chicago, 1938. See also Ascoli in M. Ascoli and A. Feiler, *Fascism for Whom?*, 57-58, New York, 1938.

sion, the revolution of 1848, and much political bungling by Cavaignac and others.

The Latin American dictators almost without exception came into power during crisis or times of emergency—civil war and rampant factionalism, plotting *juntas*, invasion or threat of invasion, revolution, machinations of politicians, disorganized national finances, feeble and ephemeral existing governments, warring petty *caciques* and *caudillos*.

The postwar dictators of Europe and the Near East almost without exception capitalized the chaos and travail—social, economic, and political—of that unhappy period. Most of us have lived through it all. A vast flood of literature, far too extensive to attempt listing, has further informed and misinformed us. The story need not be retold.⁹ However, while the specific ingredients of the crises preceding the different dictatorships, ancient, mediaeval and modern, varied considerably, as did the dictatorships themselves, all reveal certain common types of social disintegration.

In this first stage of dictatorship,¹⁰ we usually find most of the following unsettling factors in operation: (1) economic weakness and dislocation, in the form of depression, inflation, bad harvests, shortages of the necessities of life, impaired standards of living, frightened capitalists and business men hesitant to undertake new enterprises or to continue with the old; (2) international complications, foreign war, the pressure of war, military catastrophe, a prostrating or "multilated" victory, or the harrowing state of a postwar period; (3) revolution or civil war, or the threat of either, violent class cleavages, hatreds and clashes, and the shaky condition of the ruling classes; (4) the breakdown or serious impairment of political institutions, weak and vacillating rulers, the loss of confidence in the existing governmental agencies, the multiplication of factions and parties, or the political illiteracy or ineptitude of the people as a whole; and (5) personal disorganization, psychological upheaval, moral breakdown, and low morale of considerable numbers of the people.¹¹

The close relationship between revolution and dictatorship should be noted particularly. As cases in point, we might mention the dictatorships of Cromwell, Napoleon Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon, numerous Latin-American *caudillos*, the Russian dictatorships, and, to a degree, that of Hitler. During and after a revolution, the moderates, first in control, make many mistakes. One faction after another is in control. The masses may have power but they do not know how to use it. The seat of power shifts back and forth from right to left. Leadership is poor or lacking altogether.

⁹ It should be noted, however, in connection with the subject of this paper, that practically every work treating the Russian, Italian, Turkish, Austrian, or German dictatorships has one or more chapters dealing with the upheaval and crisis conditions prevailing shortly before or during the period of the establishment of the dictatorship.

¹⁰ See my "The Typical Life Cycle of Dictatorships," *Social Forces*, March, 1939, 303-309.

¹¹ See also Crane Brinton, *op. cit.*, 39-52, 236-242, New York, 1938.

Eventually, the hope and confidence which preceded and accompanied the insurrection have evaporated. The people have no more revolt in them. After the revolution has thus misfired, there is bleak suffering, the people are fearful and feel impotent, they want peace and order desperately.¹² In general, the group is on the verge of collapse. The society the individuals have known is disintegrating; they are confronted by vast incomprehensible menaces. The fear which befalls people in such circumstances is paralyzing; it leaves no room for action. Self-assertive tendencies are inhibited or seem to be entirely futile. Sources of information are inaccessible; programs of action cannot be formed or initiated in any known and tried manner.

In fact, dictatorship practically presupposes a condition of crisis and emergency prior to its establishment.¹³ Without crisis the dictatorship would be neither possible nor necessary. If the crisis situation did not exist, it is quite reasonable to assume that the ordinary constitutional governors or administrators would be functioning through the standard and established machinery of control. Everything would be running smoothly; people would not feel distraught or insecure; propagandists would sing in vain their siren song of revolutionary change in institutions and location of power; the people would staunchly resist any extralegal assumption of power.

The Demand for Deliverance. For three hundred years, the Church of England has had in its litany this supplication: "From famine, from battle and murder and from sudden death, from all seditions, privy conspiracy and rebellion, Good Lord deliver us." If the Good Lord seems to be rather remote and otherwise preoccupied in time of crisis, a lesser deliverer is demanded and arranged for, or he is given his opportunity.

At such times, people have temporarily set aside their devotion to their constitutions and their normal political institutions. In order to weather the crisis and restore order and routine, they have deliberately asked a strong and sometimes a wise and experienced man, or small clique, to assume exclusive and dictatorial power. On other occasions, when security was conspicuously impaired, an ambitious man, often a hero—a "man on horseback"—has been able to seize power. In either case, the crisis situation created the demand for a deliverer; in the latter case, crisis was invariably the avenue to dictatorship.

In ancient Greece and Rome, constitutional provision was made for a dictator in time of crisis or emergency. In Thessaly of the fourth century B.C., the office of *tagus* was technically one carrying tyrannical or dictatorial authority to which an outstanding leader, usually a member of the predominant noble family, was elected in order to pursue a foreign war or to

¹² Cf. G. Soule, *The Coming American Revolution*, 20-21, New York, 1934.

¹³ R. C. Brooks, *Deliver Us From Dictators*, 18, Philadelphia, Pa., 1935.

deal with some crisis of vital importance. With the passing of the stipulated emergency, he retired to private life.

In the ancient Roman Republic, the "dictator" was a recognized official legally appointed to deal with a crisis so exceptional and so pressing that it could not be dealt with by ordinary governmental agents operating through familiar constitutional forms. These emergencies most frequently grew out of the threat of invasion, civil strife, financial disaster, or administrative deadlock. At such times, the citizens voluntarily surrendered their liberties to a strong man. The Senate decreed a suspension of the ordinary checks and balances of the constitution and the consuls were ordered by the Senate to appoint one person to whom was given absolute power (*imperium*) for the duration of the crisis. It was thus a regular constitutional procedure for exceptional times. The title "dictator" by etymology meant "one who can speak with great, indeed, irresistible, force, one who can command and compel obedience and need not try to persuade."¹⁴ The old Roman motto was, "Let the public safety be the first law."

The office was bestowed in solemn, legal fashion, by means of a special ceremony held in the dead of night. Though the power was absolute, the tenure was temporary. When the task was completed, the constitutional agencies of control and administration were again put into effect. Thus, when Rome's army was threatened with destruction by the Aequians, the Senate immediately appointed the venerable Cincinnatus (519-439 B.C.), a grand old patrician, as dictator. He gathered a Roman army, surrounded and captured the enemy, forced them all beneath the yoke of submission, returned his army to Rome in triumph, laid down his office, and after a total lapse of sixteen days again enjoyed the retirement of his farm.

During the three centuries, beginning with 501 B.C. when the office was first established, and ending with the last instance of its use in 201 B.C., Rome had eighty-eight dictatorships. These dictators could not retain office beyond the legal term of the consuls by whom they were appointed, nor in any event could they function for more than six months. At the expiration of their term, an accounting of their acts had to be made to the Senate. Thus, while acting extraconstitutionally, they were doing so by constitutional mandate in order to preserve the constitution. This old "constitutional" dictatorship—the original form, incidentally—practically came to an end with the Hannibalic Wars.

The greater portion of the unorthodox, unconstitutional, or self-appointed dictators were gratefully accepted by the people as saviors and deliverers. After the Battle of Actium, which brought a century of chaos

¹⁴ H. R. Spencer, in G. S. Ford, *Dictatorship in the Modern World*, 84, Minneapolis, 1935; A. W. Gomme, "The Roman Republic," in *European Civilization*, vol. II, 133, New York, 1935; C. J. Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Politics*, 210-212, New York, 1937.

to a close, the Roman Senate, with the approval of the people, accepted Octavius as the revered chief. Presently, he was made *imperator* for life and was offered the dictatorship which he refused but which he exercised, nevertheless. After matters in Florence had been going from bad to worse for generations and collapse was impending, Cosimo de Medici, one of the city's leading citizens, on October 6, 1434, was hailed by people and government as "the patriot whom the Republic delighted to honor." In 1649, nearly everybody in England was agreed that the one hope for a strong and stable government rested on Oliver Cromwell. When Napoleon Bonaparte had himself made First Consul on the 18th Brumaire, after ten years of turbulence, France was willing to submit its destiny to his mastery. After the bloody days of June, 1848, Louis Napoleon was called back to France. During the next three years, though opposed by the deputies, he was permitted to entrench himself. On December 2, 1852, he was proclaimed emperor, and the people were ready to allow another Napoleon—an imperial dictator—to do their ruling for them.

In 1814, Francia of Paraguay was chosen dictator by the national assembly and three years later he was made "perpetual" dictator. After the Revolution of 1877 in Mexico, Porfirio Diaz was the autocrat, the benevolent tyrant, who organized order out of chaos. On March 1, 1920, the Hungarian National Assembly, after war and Bolshevism, elected Horthy as "Protector of the Magyar Republic." Though Mussolini, like many another dictator "dressed" the situation in his own behalf, the Italians accepted him. Why? Because he acted and gave the people to understand that he was halting anarchy and establishing order. In December, 1923, Kemal Atatürk, who had already distinguished himself by his brilliant military exploits, was elected president and allowed to set up one of the most notably constructive dictatorships of modern times. In 1923, Reza Khan of Iran, after a series of order-producing military and political successes, resigned as Secretary of War. The inhabitants of various provinces and cities rose *en masse* demanding that he withdraw his resignation, which he did. Soon he made himself Prime Minister. On December 13, 1925, he was appointed Reza Shah Pahlevi and the Pahlevi dynasty became possessor of the Persian Peacock Throne. It is generally conceded that the establishment of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in Spain on September 13, 1923, met with the approval of the majority of the people, and if submitted to the *Cortes*, it would have been constitutionally adopted. When old General Josef Pilsudski rode into Warsaw on the morning of May 12, 1926, to stop what he called the "suicidal fooling," he found the bulk of the army, the workers, the poorer peasantry, and the lower middle classes behind him. Early in 1928, the thirty-nine year old professor of finance, Dr. Oliviera Salazar, was invited to the Portuguese capital, and his own terms for taking over the financial dictatorship

of the country were gladly granted. When he converted this into a political dictatorship as well in July, 1932, almost no protest was voiced.

Abel's German case histories, covering the period from the end of the War to the time when Hitler came into power, reveal the longing of the people for a strong man to unify their divided and chaotic sentiment and action.¹⁵ On January 30, 1933, when Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor of the Reich, he was accepted by the majority of the people who in turn were receptive to Nazi agitation. When General Metaxas, the Grecian Premier, was faced on August 3, 1936, with the painful necessity of choosing between anarchy and dictatorial control, he decided upon the latter. In general, people of all parties welcomed the change, accepted his authority with relief, and hoped that he would rule with an iron will.

In times of social disorganization, such as have been outlined above, political dictatorship is a form of coercive accommodation in which a reign of concentrated power is established which inflicts its control upon the whole population. The prospective deliverer is often accepted on his own terms.

The "Leadership Principle." Closely related to the above is the underlying significance of leadership *per se* in crisis. Personalities, as Sims points out,¹⁶ are the most elemental forces that society knows. When policies, programs, or established social machinery fail, people dissolve their emotional and intellectual tension by falling back upon that ultimate factor, personality. "By the acts of one man society thus seeks to break the otherwise unbreakable impasse." Not only are the feelings and desires of the group focused upon a solution, but the confused, multiple counsel is silenced by a single authoritative voice and the conflicting procedures are submerged by a single clearcut, audacious line of action. At such times, people invariably not only accept but even welcome the imperious "strong man" with his reassuring self-confidence, his willingness and readiness to make decisions by his own fiat. Underlying this is the "leadership principle." Loewenstein makes the observation that

As the "leadership principle" works automatically by its inherent spell . . . it becomes a sort of abstract force dissociated from its personal embodiment, and the ascendancy of the leader is easily established. [Again] . . . the person of the "leader" or in some cases of the rival "leaders," is less important than the leadership principle itself.¹⁷

The Messiah or Savior state of mind is almost a universal reaction to a crisis situation. The Jews throughout the last 2500 years have lived in a state of perpetual crisis. During all this time and to this day, they have

¹⁵ T. Abel, *Why Hitler Came Into Power*, New York, 1938.

¹⁶ Newell L. Sims, "Swing of Change," *Social Forces*, May 1936, 479.

¹⁷ Karl Loewenstein, "Autocracy versus Democracy in Contemporary Europe," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, August 1935, 522-583.

cherished the idea of a coming Messiah.¹⁸ Applying this principle to the dictator, we note that he frequently becomes an almost mystical symbol of authority, leadership, and national greatness. In various dictatorships, there has been a tendency to look upon the dictator as a Messiah, to develop a ruler cult, and to deify the dictator. In recent years Mussolini, Kemal Atatürk, Pilsudski, Lenin, and Hitler have been discussed among their people as Messiahs, and so accepted by some.¹⁹ Miss Spearman states that,

The hero-myths which appear in so many parts of the world suggest that the fantasy of a beneficent all-powerful savior is one which arises in the minds of many peoples in face of disaster. [She is of the belief that] The cult of the dictator in the modern state seems to have as its foundation the same impulse or impulses as the deification of the Hellenistic monarchs and of Augustus.

In this connection, Rostovzeff is convinced that the cult of Augustus grew up spontaneously and was not imposed from above.²⁰ There is much justification for the article published a few years ago with the suggestive title, "Stalin as Ikon."²¹ Modern scholars are of the belief that the deification of leaders has not been simply a form of flattery, but has arisen in part from a genuine psychological impulse.

The official propaganda itself of many dictatorships suggests that there is a desire for a powerful and irrepressible ruler. Not only does it not refrain from calling attention to the overwhelming position of the dictator; it actually exaggerates his all-pervading influence, and asserts the joy, the dignity, and the worth of obeying him.²² Thus do the distraught and humiliated individuals merge themselves with something which is assertive, powerful, and reputedly invincible.

This tendency is crystallized in the titles assumed or given—titles which stimulate loyalty, focus allegiance, and make childlike submission a joy as well as a duty. Thus, Caesar was made consul, dictator for life, and Pontifex Maximus; Octavius was made *princeps* and then "Augustus" (the revered); Cosimo de Medici was called "Pater Patriae" after his death; Cromwell was given the title "Lord Protector" for life; Mussolini is "Il Duce" and Hitler is "der Führer"; Kemal Atatürk in 1922 was given the title "Ghazi" (the Victorious) and later "Atatürk" (Chief Turk); in 1929, Gomez of Venezuela was given the ill-deserved title, "El Benemerito" (the Well-Deserving).

Appropriating the Crisis. While there always are ambitious men who seek to grasp personal power, achieving it ordinarily is a rather slow process. Most societies in normal times have regular routines for selecting

¹⁸ See S. J. Case, *The Millennial Hope*, Chicago, 1918.

¹⁹ Diana Spearman, "The Psychological Background of Dictatorship", (*British Sociol. Rev.*, April 1934, 158-174.

²⁰ "Augustus," *Univ. of Wis. Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, No. 15, 1922.

²¹ Edmund Wilson, *New Republic*, April 15, 1936.

²² Spearman, *ibid.* See also her *Modern Dictatorship*, New York, 1939, especially pages 66-117.

their leadership. However, in a crisis situation with its unsettled conditions, with the people conditioned to expect anything and ready to follow an imperious, all-promising deliverer, the business of appropriating the crisis by an ambitious and often unscrupulous would-be dictator is greatly facilitated.²³ But even then, the crisis situation does not automatically produce a dictatorship. From the Greek Tyrants to Franco, the greater proportion of the dictatorships have been caused quite as much by the tactics of the would-be dictator and his clique or party as by the crisis conditions. Most dictators, dominated by their "will to be dictator," have deliberately sought power. Furthermore, they have been able cleverly to seize and capitalize existing conditions, manipulate, direct and crystallize them, exaggerate them, or even foment or revive crisis conditions, in order to create a demand for their own particular brand of incisive and arbitrary saviorhood, or to justify it.²⁴ It is quite conceivable in many cases, notably in the case of Russia, Italy, and Germany among the recent dictatorships, that half the emergency would have disappeared if the would-be dictator had commanded his shrieking followers to cease their nefarious activities.²⁵ Significant also is the diabolically clever enlistment of hatred against a minority which has long served as a traditional scapegoat, or the presentation as a whipping dog of some new *bête noir* within or without the group. This safely channelizes antipathetic emotions and deflects attention from the real issue.

Especially to be emphasized is the fact that the would-be dictator has been aided in developing and appropriating the crisis by small but effective pressure and action groups, often including semiprivate armies and police. Cromwell's New Model Army, Napoleon's army groups, the organizations wanting Louis Napoleon, the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Fascist bands of Italy, Pilsudski's "Defensive," the Nazi bands in Germany, and the army cliques in Spain, are but cases in point. Such groups work for the dictatorship and its causative revolution; they direct the crisis toward dictatorship. They are relatively small, well-organized, single-minded, well-disciplined, and readily maneuvered. Being dominated by a feeling of "special election," often fanatically devoted to the leader, and conscious of a definite purpose, they are able to make quick and final decisions, act decisively, push through to the goal, and "take over" rather easily. They thus make possible the achievement of that "brilliant" initial success in "restoring order" which is so important.

Furthermore, the world-be dictators know how to make the "bitter pill" not only palatable but actually attractive—even eminently desirable. They know that in a crisis situation the sufferers seek release from their confusion and their sense of being at fault. People cannot permit themselves

²³ See Abel, *op. cit.*, 151-152.

²⁴ See my "Causal and Contributory Factors of Dictatorship," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, Sept.-Oct. 1939, 20-21.

²⁵ R. C. Brooks, *op. cit.*, 20-21.

for long to think of themselves in the latter light; to do so would be to accuse themselves of ineptness, failure, and bungling. Still less can they allow themselves to be considered such by competing peoples. To embrace a bold leader and accept his flamboyant ideology is a means of compensating for the sense of inferiority and frustration.

By their ideologies, the would-be dictators sooth the distraught people, "cure" their panicky state of mind and feelings of humiliation, flatter and exalt them with great ideals and objectives, and even provide outlets for their masochistic and sadistic tendencies. Throughout the ideologies, there run such appealing phrases as Napoleon's "Grand Empire," Louis Napoleon's "Restoration of the Empire," the Latin-Americans' "Liberation," "Unification," "*La Restauracion*," "Pacification," "*Causa Rehabilitadora*," the Bolshevik's "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Bethlen's "Hungary for the Magyars," Mussolini's "The Resurrection of Ancient, United, World-Controlling Rome," Kemal Atatürk's "Modernization of Turkey" and his "Turkey for the Turks," Pilsudski's "Polonization" and "National Reconstruction," and Hitler's *Gleichschaltung* and his "Chosen people" philosophy.

The final confirmation of the fact that dictatorship usually is seized is evidenced in the almost universal use of the *coup d'état*.²⁶ Under cover of crisis, while the crowds mill and muddle, the crucial governmental and military offices are taken over forcibly, usually with some spectacular and dramatic gesture—Pisistratus seizing the Acropolis, Sulla marching on Rome, Caesar crossing the Rubicon, Cromwell forcibly dissolving Parliament, Napoleon overthrowing the Directory on the 18th Brumaire, Gomez taking possession of Miraflores Palace, Kemal Atatürk deliberately setting up a new government at Ankara, Mussolini's "March on Rome" (himself in a *wagon lit*), Pilsudski entering Warsaw and stopping the "fooling," Hitler's dissolution of the Reichstag on February 1, 1933, Metaxas marching the Army into Athens and dissolving Parliament on August 5, 1936. These men who engineer *coups d'état* are not bothered by theories of democratic equality or legality of action or by policies of moderation; they are ruthless extremists with a complete contempt for the inhibitions and principles which serve other men as ideals. They are Machiavellians, or as Crane Brinton aptly puts it, they are not philosopher-kings, but philosopher-killers.²⁷

In general, dictators are not the kind of men who would be ruling in more normal times. On the whole, whether we like to admit it or not, they are abler than those necessary in more normal times. Many men can fit into a well-organized going concern, but the man who can organize chaos must be a genius of a sort. So these men who appropriate a crisis and become dictator combine in themselves diabolical cleverness, arrogance, the love for intrigue,

²⁶ See H. R. Spencer, "Coup d'état," IV: 508-510, *Ency. of Soc. Sci.*

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, 190. See also H. R. Spencer, *op. cit.*, 508-510, and my article on "The Typical Life Cycle of Dictatorships," *Social Forces*, March 1939, 305-306.

unscrupulousness, a bent toward strategy, and fanatical idealism, along with hard-shelled realism, and the ability quickly to utilize every advantage. The crisis provides the opportunity for the would-be dictator, but successfully to appropriate it takes great abilities—of a sort.

Conclusion. While crisis or alleged crisis is not the guarantee of dictatorship, it is its only *raison d'être*. No one knows this better than the successful dictator himself. Therefore, he must always act as if an emergency existed. He must and often does manufacture emergencies to justify his own existence, especially in the form of war and war scares, and by his activities as an "institution wrecker," as Max Ascoli puts it.²⁸ There is also the temptation for him, as for other administrators and executives, to *assume* that a state of emergency always exists; hence, there is too much use of the concentration of power principle and the development of what might be called the executive "frame of mind." Translated into Pennsylvania Dutch, this means that dictators come to think of themselves as being "Heavengesent."

When the dictator finds that such an interpretation of the situation is no longer accepted by the people, he has one of three choices: (1) he may try to convert his rule into a dynasty as Augustus and Reza Shah Pahlevi succeeded in doing, and as Napoleon Bonaparte and Louis Napoleon tried to do; or (2) he may arrange to die, in bed, before the emergency passes, as did Cromwell, Richelieu, Lenin, Pilsudski, Gomez, and Kemal Atatürk; or (3) he may leave quickly before the "break" comes, preferably under cover of darkness, for Paris, that haven of ex-absolutists and other dispossessed rulers, as did Diaz and several other Latin-American dictators. Otherwise he will suffer: (a) forcible detention or exile; or more likely, (b) be the victim of his own favorite device, namely, sudden and violent "liquidation." Why? Because thus far in history, when a society has achieved normality, it has discarded its dictators and set up a system of "checks and balances."

COMMENT

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota

The following comment on Hertzler's stimulating paper is made with reference to the original manuscript as presented at the Philadelphia meetings. Since the reviewer has had no opportunity to see the paper as published, there may be inappropriateness in certain comments, for which the writer makes due apology.

The paper has many conspicuous virtues. The subject is exceedingly timely. If the author's thesis be correct, statesmen might do well to divert their attention from the threat of Fascist invasion, and consider the possible effects of an internal crisis. He has shown great industry in the collection of historical material and has presented his findings with clarity and vividness. His approach to historical sociology raises interesting questions concerning methodology which will be mentioned later.

²⁸ M. Ascoli and A. Feiler, *op. cit.*, 57.

Comment should be made with full awareness of the difficulties faced by Hertzler. Lack of space made it impossible for him to present more than a fraction of the historical evidence which he has brought together. It is unfortunate perhaps that the present paper could not have been combined with excellent articles previously published to constitute an integrated treatment strengthened by internal consistency and convergence of evidence. A more general difficulty is the methodological dilemma with which Hertzler was faced. On the one hand, a detailed historical account of the rise of dictatorships might have given completeness, accuracy, and insight concerning patterns of historical events. It would be difficult, however, to draw inferences or to make predictions concerning dictatorship at another time or place. The other horn of the dilemma would be to abstract from the data a general formula concerning the rise and fall of dictatorships. The danger here lies in a formulation so general that inference and prediction concerning some new case of dictatorship would lack specificity. An intermediate ground could perhaps be found by the detailed analysis of social processes or application of the ideal-typical concept.

Granting the difficulties faced by Hertzler, it may be suggested that there is some lack of precision in his analysis. The term dictatorship is not rigidly defined for purposes of discussion, and the procedure relies largely upon illustration in a manner which smacks of the comparative method as used by the older anthropologists. One is even left somewhat in doubt as to the fate of the basic hypothesis that dictatorship tends to be a product of a crisis situation. One must give Hertzler credit for recognition of the fact that would-be dictators by tricks of propaganda can make it appear that a crisis exists. Granting this possibility, one is left uncertain as to whether crisis causes dictatorship or dictators a crisis.

The paper has a hybrid quality from the point of view of methodology. The commentator is highly sympathetic to a middle of the road procedure which lies somewhere between the typical qualitative and the typical quantitative analysis, but such a procedure should have some of the advantages inherent in each of the more extreme positions. It would be interesting to know what the result would be of shifting the approach in the direction of a more quantitative or at least a more analytical procedure.

The first step would be the selection of dictatorships with reference to some sampling criterion. Not only should historical period and country be taken into account, but also validity of historical evidence. Hertzler included one or two dictators about whom very little is known. The second step would be a classification of dictators more complete than that attempted by Hertzler. They may be, for example, dynastic, military, religious, revolutionary, legal, or illegal, etc. There is the possibility, of course, that one type of dictator is far more closely associated than another with a crisis situation. The third step would be to analyse crisis situations somewhat more closely, perhaps in terms of types, perhaps in terms of degree of total social dislocation. We would then be better prepared to deal with the question, "How much crisis does it take to produce a dictator?" The fourth step would be to relate specifically dictatorships and crisis situations. Are dictatorships always associated with crisis situations, and if so, what types of dictator and what types of crisis are most congenial? The final step would be to select objectively, by way of a control group, a sample of historical situations among which instances might be found of more or less severe crisis situations unaccompanied by dictatorships. Ignoring configurational relationships, such a procedure might produce out of a mountain in labor, an absurd mouse. Hertzler's paper may stimulate impracticable ideas, but it is nevertheless stimulating.

THE SOCIOLOGIST AND SOCIAL ACTION

JEROME DAVIS

West Haven, Connecticut

WHAT has been the trend in the sociological field in the United States during the past thirty years regarding social problems and social action? Analysis of the content of a few of our sociological journals shows a decreasing proportion of space given to such matters as social service and charity work, race relations, penology, social legislation, labor and the economic order, civil liberties, government, and church activities. *The American Journal of Sociology*, for instance, for the year 1937-38, had 11 articles out of 46 in these fields, roughly 23 percent. Thirty years ago in 1907-08, *The American Journal of Sociology* had 17 out of 34 articles, or exactly 50 percent. In the *American Sociological Review* for 1937, there were only 11 out of a total of 62 articles in this field. No article in either *The American Journal of Sociology* for 1937-38 or the *American Sociological Review* recommended any specific social action. In *The American Journal of Sociology* thirty years previously, however, several articles urged specific types of action. Based on this and other evidence, sociology has been becoming more theoretical, more scientific, and less preoccupied in the field of social action than formerly.

Most sociologists would doubtless agree that they should do research in the field of social phenomena. They would further agree that the field is complex, that predictability is difficult, and that quantitative methods cannot always be used with exactitude. On the other hand, we are coming more and more to the realization that, in spite of the complexity, there are certain patterns, sequences, and order in the behavior of a social group. Within limits, predictions can be made even about group response to certain stimuli and, increasingly, quantitative tabulations are being used.

We are not agreed, however, as to the extent to which a sociologist should apply the sociological data which he secures through research to the field of social action. Some may say that such action behavior belongs to the social engineer rather than to the scientific sociologist. It is perhaps not always easy to agree as to where social action begins and teaching ends. For example, William G. Sumner of Yale believed from his investigations into social phenomena that a high tariff was injurious to the group and should not be adopted. In doing this, he not only got into difficulty at Yale which almost cost him his position but he had certainly entered the field of social action.

Investigation seems to indicate that a scientific sociologist, no matter how much he may desire to confine himself to research and teaching, finds it difficult to isolate the sociologist, as a scientist, from the sociologist who is

a father, a resident of a community, or a citizen of the state. Furthermore, while some sociologists may be in a position to confine their activities to pure research and teaching, others are inevitably called on to do "social engineering," if we can use that term. It is extremely difficult for the research sociologist to confine himself to pure research if he happens to be involved in certain public responsibilities.

Take my own experience in the field of penology. I was appointed by the Legislature of Connecticut as Chairman of the Legislative Commission on Jails. My first responsibility was to make a sociological survey of the jails of the state; the next task was to make a sociological study of the jail population. Both these studies were in due time published by the state. It would have been perfectly possible to stop after completing such studies and say, "It is now up to the citizens of the state to make use of the data. As a sociologist, I have accomplished my task in presenting the facts."

This may be all very well but it is doubtful if the average sociologist can stop at this point. As a citizen, he has an obligation to see that something is done about the facts presented. In order to change the appalling maladjustment which the existing jails were accentuating, it was necessary to advocate the establishment of a central state jail farm where the inmates would be treated scientifically, where they would be given employment and not kept in complete idleness. In other words, sociologists, having discovered certain facts through research, may have certain obligations as citizens to see to it that the facts are used by the society in which they live. At any rate, it is my belief that whatever the theory of the sociologist may be in regard to keeping his time and attention strictly focused on teaching and research, the actual practices of sociologists prove that they do become involved in a wide variety of social action.

In order to test out this hypothesis, I wrote to the members of the Eastern Sociological Society—170 in all—in the spring of 1939. I received replies from 113 members, or just over 66 percent. In discussing these returns, it should be understood that I am referring to the 113 sociologists who replied to the questionnaire and not to the entire membership.

In the form below, there was no intention of implying that the only types of social action were the ones listed. They were just some from an indefinite number which might have been included. The writer does not mean to imply that it is or is not desirable for the sociologist to take part in such action. He is merely analyzing data received.

The average number of outside activities, including membership in national organizations, which the 113 sociologists participated in was 5.97 or roughly 6 each. One sociologist actually had checked 27 items and two had checked 20. There were only 9 who had not checked any items. The median was 5 and the mode was 4 activities checked by 14 sociologists.

The following check list was sent to the membership.

IF YOU DO NOT HAVE TIME TO DO MORE, AT LEAST PLEASE
CHECK ACTIVITIES AND RETURN BLANK

Check in this column	Some Activities in the Field of Social Action. <i>Check those you are participat- ing in.</i> (Either the main heading, or subdivision, or both.) Add items not mentioned.	If you care to, describe briefly the type of activity engaged in where you have checked an item. It will make the answers more com- plete.
	I. Social Service	
	1. Charity Organization	
	2. Child Welfare	
	3.	

The following items were listed in Column 2 as in the above form. II. Penology: 1. Jail or Penitentiary work, 2. Probation or Rehabilitation, 3. ———; III. Social Legislation: 1. Old age pensions, 2. Unemployment insurance, 3. Child labor, 4. Public ownership, 5. Birth Control, 6. ———; IV. Labor and the Economic Order: 1. With trade unions, 2. With employers, 3. In industrial conflict, 4. Wagner Act or National Labor Relations Board, 5. Consumers' cooperatives, 6. ———; V. Civil Liberties; VI. Race Relations: 1. Immigrant welfare; 2. Naturalization and citizenship, 3. Minorities and race prejudice, a. anti-Semitism b. Negro relationships, 4. ———; VII. Party Politics: 1. On behalf of some party, 2. On behalf of civic reform, 3. ———; VIII. Church Activities: 1. Teaching Sunday School, 2. Other active church work, 3. ———; IX. Educational experiments in an endeavor to get my students interested in reform movements or programs for social justice; X. Membership in National Organizations such as, 1. American Association of University Professors, 2. American Federation of Teachers, 3. American Association for Labor Legislation, 4. League for Industrial Democracy, 5. American League for Peace and Democracy, 6. American Civil Liberties Union, 7. ———; XI. Other Activities not Specified above, 1. ———; XII. Finally, please state in as great detail as you care to, below and on the reverse side, the most significant activity you have undertaken in the field of social reform or social action.

As would be expected, the greatest number checked membership in some organization—124 in all—with 45 belonging to the American Association of University Professors, 22 to the American Civil Liberties Union and 16 to the American Federation of Teachers. Naturally, membership in these organizations may be a passive matter so that it is not surprising that more of our membership should have checked these items than any other. If we were to drop the items on membership from the list, it would reduce the average number of activities from 6 to just under 5.

The next largest number checked activities in the field of race relations

—103 in all—with work regarding Negro relationships claiming 29, minorities and race prejudice 26, and anti-Semitism 21.

Labor and the economic order, covering a very wide range of activities, was checked 77 times. Consumers' cooperatives received the greatest attention with 31 checks while 23 sociologists—one in five—were doing work with trade unions.

Social Service and Welfare activities came fourth with 70 checks of which 22 fell in the field of charity organization and 20 in the field of child welfare.

Social Legislation received 56 checks with the predominant place falling to birth control with 14.

Penology was checked by roughly one third of those who replied, receiving 36 marks of which 11 were in jail or penitentiary work.

It is interesting that a slightly larger number of our membership who replied are interested in penology than in church activities. One declared that he always got satisfaction in marching by the churches on Sunday and settling down with a good book. There were 32 checks for church activities with 5 still teaching in Sunday School.

Party Politics had 28 checks with 14 engaging in some civic reform and 9 being interested on behalf of a party.

Civil Liberties interested 26 while educational experiments in an endeavor to get students interested in reform movements or in programs for social justice had the last place, being checked by 23.

It would be interesting to know if so few sociologists checked this item because they did not believe in attempting to interest their students in reform movements as outside the province of a sociologist or simply because they have been indifferent or engrossed in other matters. Some of the sociologists wrote that they felt that by interesting students in reform movements they induced the student to become more interested in sociology itself and so in the end turned out better students of sociology.

In describing the "most significant activity they had undertaken in the field of social action," there was a wide range listed. To summarize these is almost impossible. A few quotations will perhaps better convey what these sociologists felt was most significant, and I quote from their own words.

1. The Defeat of the Sedition Bill was the most dramatic, but work against child labor and long hours for women's labor has been doubtless more significant.
2. At present, what free time I have is about equally divided between work in the Teachers Union and the American Labor Party.
3. I was a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Education which at least proposed social action.
4. Legislative Committee Chairman and on the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Teachers. (another cited this)
5. College students and religion.
6. My book on "The Daily Newspaper in America" has done the most for freedom of speech and the press.

7. As I look over your check list, I find that I have during the past three years spent anywhere from one morning at a legislative hearing to approximately 40 days organizing and teaching in a reformatory—in action in the 21 fields marked in the right of your column.

8. Founding of Scout Group Work Department at the University.

9. President of the Pennsylvania Birth Control Federation and conduct of some thirty odd clinics.

10. Too many to specify.

11. My principal activities throughout my career have been in behalf of radical and fundamental changes in our economic order. These are the only changes which can be effective. Most of the so called "social service" and "social legislation" about which American sociologists have prated so much is worse than useless.

12. Fighting academic fascism and all that goes with it in an important State Teachers College.

13. Work on a Jail Commission for the State.

14. One professor engages in research study with the assistance of students on social needs in a given locality, brings back the research findings and class discussion into the community council of that locality for the purpose of action. Thus the cycle of research study and action is completed.

15. My answers to the questions reveal what I believe to be of outstanding significance: to improve the status of labor, to help labor become an intelligent, fully responsible, and powerful organization. This view is not based on pure research but also on my experience as General Counsel to the German Trade Unions from 1927-33. The second vital point for me is the fight for civil liberties.

16. The attempt to organize the employees of the Welfare Council of New York City into a union.

Some of the sociologists felt that they were not doing enough in the field of social action. For instance one wrote:

I am looking forward to hearing your paper with the hope that I may learn something about the reason why some sociologists continue in a state of lethargy today while there is so much need in our society and the world for intelligent action.

[Another wrote as follows]: In small university towns (and I think this applies even more to small college and school towns) open expression of an instructor's leftist views, or open affiliation with organizations that are looked upon as "radical", contribute materially to economic insecurity. While my sympathies and intellectual leanings are with groups such as the A. F. of T., the Civil Liberties Union, the Socialist Party, and kindred organizations, I have never been able to see the value of simply taking out memberships in such groups without also being able to work openly and with dignity toward their ends. Ideas of a liberal or leftist strain are sufficient in themselves to intellectually isolate a socially conscious person from the dominant culture pattern of small university communities; open membership in such groups, without the right to actively participate in their work, serves merely to antagonize those who make decisions concerning economic security.

I do not make this statement with any idea of justifying myself, or even apologizing for it. It is merely a statement of a social or cultural fact. It is one of the principal reasons, I think, why a statistical analysis of the returns will measure several social or cultural variables in addition to the viewpoints or ideas of the sociologists furnishing them.

When I found that the only item I could check was the A.A.U.P., I was rather startled if not chagrined because that organization, if anything, is dedicated to social

inaction. I joined it for "professional" reasons. It exacts \$4.00 a year, and my time, and gives absolutely nothing in return. If anything, it creates constant mental conflicts within me for having to be an accessory to such a piece of professional deception.

Like most other Americans, I was brought up in the Protestant faith, attending church and Sunday School regularly in my earlier years. Today I cannot see how the church work would be any measure of "social action." It presumably might be but I venture the opinion that the rule is otherwise. Again, the occasional pronouncement of a small minority of church leaders with respect to liberal viewpoints is, I think, more of an index of their own prestige or economic security than a line which could be adhered to openly by the rank and file of religious leaders whose economic survival is an indivisible part of the culture in which they participate.

I am deeply conscious of the problems facing the sociologist who really tries to be objective or scientific in his work. I am also aware of how many sociologists either withdraw into the field of abstractions or on the other hand study very "objectively" and "scientifically" things which do not matter or are of little consequence. The parasites that the biologist examines under the microscope are not organized into trade or professional associations. The sociologist who possesses any intellectual honesty is faced with the dilemma of either examining his data carefully but withholding conclusions, or presenting his conclusions on matters that count and being without a job. In fact, even his learned colleagues will say that he is not a scientist.

One who defended the absence of any marks wrote as follows:

Much to my amazement I do not find myself at all in your list of activities. Nor do I feel the urge to mend my ways and participate. My most significant activity? My students, my job of teaching, my philosophy which I am sure will affect theirs and their lives and through them, society.

In conclusion, it would seem to the writer that the sociologist does presumably have the same obligations to society that any other citizen has. It may be that occasionally because of his position or on account of his research he has to keep more aloof, but it is doubtful whether most of the sociologists represented in this survey feel this to be necessary.

Of course, nothing in this paper is meant to imply that teaching and research do not affect social action. There is abundant evidence that ideas do play an important part in social action. See the article by Talcott Parsons on "The Role of Ideas in Social Action" in the *American Sociological Review* for October, 1938. The statistics presented here demonstrate that sociologists, in spite of any theories they may hold to the contrary, do seem to become involved as individuals in social action, often in social reform. In fact, even deleting membership in the organizations listed, over 91 percent of the sociologists who replied were taking some form of action and most of them in three to five different lines. From the comments made, there is apparently a fear on the part of some of the sociologists that if they participate in certain lines of social action it will hurt them either with their colleagues, or with the community. It also seems to be true that the pressure of teaching, research, and publication take up so much of a teacher's time that a very small number feel they should not become engrossed in outside activities at all.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK IN PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION*

NELS ANDERSON

WPA, Washington, D. C.

INTRODUCTION. Social work education is a subject about which I can have no more than a layman's opinion. That field of education is limited largely by the operating scope of social work. In common with other types of professional education, social work education is in part the accumulation of experience within a special area of technical knowledge. If we lived in a static society, that is, if present conditions were still what they were five, ten, or twenty years ago, there would not be such a serious problem regarding the relation of sociological theory to social work education or of social work education to public welfare administration. However, changes have pressed upon us so rapidly that the problem of adaptation presents a daily challenge that leaves many professional-minded people extremely uncertain. Public welfare administration has had to act in relation to the realities of day to day problems. It has had to learn while doing an immediate and pressing job. Social work and sociology have not been called upon to define the relationships or propose the policies.

Hence, the situation today is one in which sociology and social work are trying to keep up with public welfare administration. Social work education is trying to find out what is needed in training social workers for tomorrow. Sociological theory stands on the side lines very much confused about the applicability of its most cherished concepts. Sociologists, profoundly interested in all these social and economic problems, want to break through somewhere and offer a contribution. Without doubt, there is much in sociological theory that would be of use in the education of social workers for public welfare administration, but outsiders cannot be of much value in giving vocational guidance to sociologists and social workers. However, I can say something about public welfare administration in relation to social work.

The Development of Public Welfare Administration. Perhaps the most important fact about public welfare administration is its rapid growth in recent years. Old agencies—federal, state and local—have expanded, and new agencies have been created. Beneficiaries of public welfare agencies, formerly numbered in thousands, are now numbered in millions. Not only has public welfare increased in volume, but the services of public agencies are becoming more specialized. The specialization has assumed a variety of forms, most of which were not anticipated and some of which are without

* Revision of a paper presented to the American Sociological Society at Philadelphia, December 27, 1939.

precedent. Specialization has stimulated, normally and properly, a supplementary trend toward coordination, again without precedent or anticipation. In the main, this coordination has been largely in the field of administering the various public welfare agencies. Public welfare administration, as between states, localities, and the federal government, is evolving into a national function.

On the one hand, public welfare services tend to increase in volume and to become more varied. On the other hand, these services tend to become more professional in character, especially in their social work aspects. The professional trend in public welfare is evidenced in part by the greater number of social workers hired, and in part by the development of standards for the guidance of such work. The Work Projects Administration is an outstanding example of a federal agency that has maintained a policy of utilizing trained personnel. This agency is the outgrowth of the former Federal Emergency Relief Administration which employed a considerable number of social workers, sent promising workers to school for training, and also used its influence with state and local public agencies in favor of using trained social workers. Most of the social work formerly done by FERA has been passed back to the state and localities. WPA employs fewer social workers, but more engineers, labor officers, and other trained personnel; however, the trend in this agency is in the direction of using trained workers in supervisory and administrative positions. This is the logical way for a great federal agency to operate. It is characteristic of other federal agencies operating in the welfare and work fields.

Some Qualities of Professional Social Service. It can be said with confidence that nowhere can better qualified personnel for public welfare service be found than in the ranks of the professional social workers. The personal service functions of public welfare are within their scope and interest. Personal welfare problems do fall within the professional field of social work and are definitely outside certain other professional fields, as for example, engineering. The social worker is usually better provided with certain qualities of attitude and personality. Some of these other qualities, which are valuable assets in addition to the technical qualifications of social workers, are listed below. Such factors are being increasingly taken into account by public welfare agencies. This is especially true of the federal agencies.

1. An awareness and understanding of individual differences arising out of the realization that *people* are the only reason for the existence of any program of public welfare.
2. A passion for fairness which is not based on sentimentality and the ability to be fair in the face of prejudice and pressure favoring contrary action.
3. A capacity for flexibility in handling individual cases, insofar as this is possible within the limitations of agency regulations and the law.
4. A degree of patience which is most effective and convincing when naturally evidenced in the handling of individual problems and when it is motivated by tolerance.

5. A bias for honesty and integrity in finding and facing the facts. This quality of mind is intellectual honesty, the opposite of which in social work would be a disposition to pass people on somehow with nice answers that do not answer.

These qualities are characteristic of the effective service of professional workers in the public service. They should characterize the conduct of all public officials, but they are more likely to be found in professional social workers. This may explain in part the growing utilization of social workers in public welfare service. Because these qualities are characteristic of professional social workers may we not assume that they are, in part at least, the product of selection, training, and experience?

Popular Opposition to Social Work. Those who would offer their services in the education of social workers in public welfare administration should not lose sight of the fact that we have little information about what the profession is doing now, and that the profession has labored under the burden of antagonism. Concerning the first point, it must be kept in mind that we do not know how many social workers there are. We do not know where they are working, and we know very little about what they are doing. There is a dearth of information about the extent to which social workers in the public service are using their previous training and experience in connection with their present jobs. We should know what training has proved of value and what has been useless or even handicapping. Therefore, before many positive steps are taken in the formulation of an educational program for social workers, a survey should be made of the jobs they are doing or will have to do. This survey should interest not only the teachers of social workers but also those who would contribute basic information to be used in such teaching.

A survey of this field might reveal that social workers are now using their professional skills in public welfare agencies. It may be that the opposition to social work in public welfare is uninformed, but it also might be found that there is some basis in fact for such opposition. It may be that too many social workers have failed to deliver a proper service because they were not properly trained. We may find that this opposition to social work is often due to the unwillingness of public officials to pay for a service which they do not regard as professional. While public officials are often political, it is a mistake to assume that they are generally wrong or generally dishonest. We must face the fact that elected public officials provide the money to operate these agencies and that public officials are held responsible by the voters. These officials are usually well informed about public opinion.

While it may not be possible to prevent criticism of professional social work, it is possible to discover some of the major reasons for such criticism. Perhaps something can be done about it by patient educational work with organized labor, the press, and public officials. In the course of such efforts, perhaps the social work profession can find ways of better adapting

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itself. It is possible that in the sudden growth of public welfare service many social workers have been placed in jobs that are too big for them, jobs for which they are not qualified by previous experience, or for which they are handicapped by previous training.

Why Some Social Workers Have Failed. Many of the social workers in the public service have a background in private welfare work, which was vastly different. These workers in their new tasks have sometimes been frustrated in learning that many of the old concepts and methods that served well in private welfare cannot be applied to public welfare. New methods need to be devised and the old concepts adjusted. Perhaps we can enumerate a number of these difficulties.

1. Social workers frequently entered the public service with a high degree of professional consciousness. They were unwilling to believe that, in emergencies at least, certain tasks that normally fall within the profession could be done by persons not of the profession. They were distressed at the proposal to assign unemployed school-teachers to work as interviewers. Their reaction, perhaps properly, was no different from that of the bricklayers against the use of other than experienced bricklayers on construction jobs. They were unable or unwilling to draw the line between the ordinary commonsense phases of social work and the more technical complex phases.

2. Social workers in their previous experience generally had been taught to regard relief applicants as "clients," whereas in the public service they were forced to realize that clients were workers, citizens, and even taxpayers, and as such they had "rights." It was necessary, but difficult, for many social workers to realize that if a citizen qualifies for public benefits, it is not necessary for him to evidence appreciation in order to receive them.

3. Social workers in the public service are frequently confronted with situations involving masses of people, picket lines and demonstrations, as well as committees from worker organizations. For many social workers, this is a new experience and they are lost in meeting such situations. Sometimes they have been misunderstood when putting forth their best efforts.

4. Many social workers have been overwhelmed with a type of welfare that leads to public work. Putting the unemployed to work is a new experience for social workers. They often are not qualified by training or experience to deal with problems of work relief. For confirmation of this statement, one needs but to read the literature of the profession. He would find much about many things, but little about work.

5. Social workers have been confronted in the public service with issues of politics. Traditionally, the profession has looked askance at politics and politicians, having been through the years quite willing to assume that politics and politicians are bad. Whether they like it or not, they are now confronted with the necessity of learning how to function in relationships that must of necessity, in a democracy, have political angles.

It should be understood, of course, that these are not shortcomings of all social workers, nor are they confined to social workers alone. The engineers in public welfare work-providing agencies have also had difficulties. It has been a new experience for engineers to realize that workers are not merely labor in the abstract, but that workers are people, heads of families, mem-

bers of communities, and citizens. In the program with which I am identified, we have had ample opportunity to observe the relative differences between engineers and social workers. Engineers know much about work but not so much about people; social workers know a lot about people but not much about people in relation to work.

Views of Social Work Educators. In the preparation of this paper, I sought every opportunity to discuss these matters with public welfare officials and with social workers, especially with teachers in schools of social work. Among these people, there is an active interest in finding the answers to certain problems. They are concerned about the effective use of social work in public welfare agencies, and they are concerned about the type of social work training needed for these fields. The way is now open for pioneering in the relations between social work as a profession and public welfare as a service. What direction the pioneering will take is not known, but the outlook is hopeful because the leaders in social work are alert and realistic.

At this point, the question may properly be asked about the part sociology will play in this pioneering, or the part that sociology should play. That will depend on the sociologists and their capacity for pioneering. Teachers in the schools for social work are not agreed on how much sociology or what courses of sociology should be taught. In response to queries, they ask, "What kind of sociology?" or "Who will teach it?" There seems to be a notion among schools of social work that certain kinds of sociology would be of more value than other kinds. It would seem to be wise for the American Sociological Society and the responsible representatives of social work education to discuss these points together. Sociology has many special and general courses in social problems. How may these be utilized in training for social work? Should the special courses be given in the general phase of social work training or should they be reserved for later training or for in-service training? These are questions for which there is no immediate realistic answer; there are many opinions, and opinions differ.

What the Public Welfare Worker Should Know. It may help to enumerate some of the fields of interest or spheres of activity in which social workers, as well as other public welfare officials, are expected to operate. These items are the outgrowth of my own experience and observations in public welfare administration. Sociology may be of service if it has something to contribute in these several fields of interest.

1. A worker in the public welfare service should be fortified with general information about the social and economic problems with which the agency is confronted. This information should be of national as well as local nature. This does not mean that such a worker should be a specialist, but it does imply a realization of the value of specialists. Moreover, such a worker in the public service should be able to appraise the various social, economic, and political factors that are operating or may operate in changing the situation.

2. A worker in the public welfare service should also be fortified with general

information about people and their problems, and with such special information as special assignments may call for. But information is not enough; the effectiveness of the work of the public service worker will depend on a genuine, although professional, interest in people. The public welfare service recognizes that people who receive public benefits are still workers and citizens. They have rights which, within the limits of agency regulations and the law, must be respected. In these relationships, the public welfare official is called upon to exercise understanding, flexibility, honesty, patience, and other qualities which must be applied with a fairness becoming to the dignity of the government service.

3. A worker in the public welfare service must understand that the purposes of public welfare are defined by law and can be effective only as the public is correctly informed about them. The public agency does not belong to industry, to the labor unions, or even to the unemployed. It is an agent of the community, the state, or the nation. The worker in the public agency, whether social worker, labor officer, engineer, or administrator, is a public servant and should know how to meet the public and how to represent the agency so as to commend it to the public.

4. A worker in the public welfare service should be informed about labor relations and should know the difference between fair and discriminatory administrative practices and the effects of either on workers in their organizational activities. The public agency may find itself subjected to pressure influences regarding various labor issues, and any action of the agency is bound to be opposed. It is important that the workers in such agencies be sufficiently informed so as to be able to act with wisdom and courage.

5. A worker in the public welfare service is frequently subjected to the influence of pressure groups and should be familiar with the tactics and objectives of pressure groups. An understanding of the social and economic value of pressure groups in a democracy is essential in dealing with them. The soundly managed public welfare agency can, and often must, cultivate the cooperation of pressure groups in order the better to deal with the public through them. The informed worker in the public welfare agency realizes that any type of group into which people organize has as one of its objectives the application of pressure to accomplish some of its purposes through the aid of government agencies.

6. A worker in the public welfare service should be informed about political issues, political groups, and the purposes of political pressure, and be familiar with political groups without being a politician. This is the best antidote for the old fallacy that politics is always evil and politicians always bad. In the final analysis, the politicians, whether good or bad, are functionaries of the same democratic government that maintains the agency and are serving the same people. Knowledge of these things is the best protection for the worker in a public welfare agency, and such knowledge is imperative to reconciling conflicts between the political objectives of public officials and the professional objectives of welfare workers.

7. A worker in the public welfare service is engaged in the business of spending and distributing money collected from the taxpayers. Such money is spent according to rules defined by law and in accordance with fiscal policies of the government. It is important that workers in the welfare agencies of the federal, state, or local government be familiar with such fiscal policies and be informed concerning the rules for operating within the limits of the regulations. Such familiarity with the problems at hand is imperative if the workers in a public welfare agency are called on to aid in changing the policies and practices.

8. A worker in the public welfare service is frequently confronted with problems regarding the management of personnel. In the large public agencies, the personnel

problems at the different levels of management are sometimes quite complicated. While this may be work for experts in the field, a knowledge of public personnel problems and practices is imperative even for service workers in the field. Closely allied with personnel problems, as such, are the problems of relationships through which the lines of control and authority flow between the levels of management.

9. A worker in the public welfare service must recognize the importance of agency coordination. While public welfare agencies and other public agencies of federal, state, and local government are charged with different functions, according to law, necessity requires that they sometimes coordinate their efforts for a common purpose. The possibilities of administrative coordination as between agencies may be as extensive as officials in charge wish them to be. Administrative coordination between public agencies is not only possible *within* a level of government but it is possible and imperative *between* levels of government and in the field.

Conclusion. The picture for sociology or for social work teaching is not dark, unless there be some who cannot or will not see the light. We have had ample opportunity to realize that public welfare work is not diminishing, and probably would not diminish even though there should be political changes. Moreover, there is not likely to be any retreat in the present trend to utilize, in public welfare administration, the services of social workers. We probably have more social work in public welfare today than the most ardent apostles of the profession even hoped for five or ten years ago. Social work has something to offer. Its professional offerings are being utilized, although there has been a considerable need for adaptation. Social workers have adapted to the realities of the new and changing agencies. The test of public acceptance is that their number in public service is increasing. There is reason to be hopeful for social work.

This cannot be said at present for sociology. Many sociologists need to learn which way the procession is moving. A few sociologists, some of them in high places, need to ask which way the procession went. Too many sociologists teach courses or write books about social problems without having any personal knowledge about these problems. There are too many sociologists, and even economists, who not only lack feeling about some of our most pressing social problems, but they even lack scientific curiosity about them. They talk about concepts and methods of research, but know little and care less about people. They do not know how to know people.

During my seven years service in a federal welfare and work agency dealing with unemployment and labor problems, community and family problems, problems of migration and problems of stranded people, I have not encountered half a dozen sociologists. Surely the sociologists are aware of these problems but they do not seem to be around where the issues are being handled. It seems now to be axiomatic that if one would be away from social scientists, sociologists, or even economists, one should go where the people and the problems are.

I know enough about sociologists to realize that many of their number would not regard this opinion as a criticism, but a compliment. A social

scientist, they claim, must be detached and objective. He must be able to have perspective so as to see the forest as well as the trees. It is not easy to be patient with the remote contact approach to social problems, especially if it is a substitute for realistic field work. Real social scientists can get close to social problems without becoming either tainted or excited. If the sociologists, in their social science delvings, do not get closer, they should not be surprised if their writings and utterances are treated with indifference. There are exceptions, to be sure, but they are widely scattered. There are sociologists who can function as advisors to public welfare administrations. They have something to offer. They can get close to social problems and still retain their objectivity.

Sociologists should be able to make a contribution, even many contributions, to a better understanding of our most pressing social problems. The decision rests with them whether they will. There is no objection because sociologists stand apart from the dust of the battle. Some standing apart is needed for healthy balance in social science, but it appears that we have been getting a little too much of it. Perhaps sociologists are so loaded down with teaching that they do not have the opportunity to get into the field. That, of course, is a problem faced by most teachers in social science, but it should not be insurmountable.

The fact remains, however, that if sociology would be of service in the training of social workers, or other public welfare workers, it should get closer to the problems with which social workers and public welfare agencies must deal. There is plenty of room in this field for pioneering.

THE ABILITY OF RELIEF CHILDREN

ALBERT E. CROFT

Wichita University

DO THE economically unsuccessful classes of midwestern Americans tend to be mentally inferior to the general population? Opinions vary concerning the mental quality of those on relief. Many still hold that "economic selection has determined who should survive." Some believe that "only the unfit are now on relief." Seldom does one hear of social organization and socialized opportunity as factors in success. It was therefore decided to study the school success of children of relief clients and determine how they compare with the general population.

A representative midwestern city of nearly 120,000 population (Wichita, Kansas), with a good school system and recognized leadership was selected. The local population is over 94 percent native American stock, and the folkways are fairly democratic. Homogeneity is very high, and economic failure is not related to foreign birth, ethnic stock, or ideological differences. The occupations are the normal rural-urban vocations of meat packing, grain processing, community and personal services, and the general activities of wholesaling for an extensive trade area.

This city has the usual organizational characteristics. The wealthy have their preferred neighborhood; the moderately well-to-do, their "mortgage hill"; and so on down to the "squatter-town" settlers. Numerous clubs and congeniality groups exist in social tiers and employ stratifying devices of selecting membership, setting dues, and controlling meetings. On the other hand, about one hundred-fifty churches seek to penetrate all social levels and at least unite the people spiritually, but interdenominational competition and neighborhood isolation retard socialization. Labor organizations have not reached a position of effective civic participation, while pressure groups are well organized and ready to maintain order and orthodoxy. Within these lines of social restriction, however, the community is keenly competitive, economically laissez-faire, highly political, professedly poor, very patriotic, and pronouncedly religious. The resultant patterns run accordingly throughout adult life. Being out of some things may mean being out of a job, and being out of a job generally means being out of "everything."

The school system of this city gives special attention to the socialization of the child during the elementary school years. Because of variations in the patterns of folkways, the children are not compared to any grade norm, but are treated on an individual basis and merely marked "S" or "U" as their personal development may be satisfactory or otherwise. Thus personality differences are minimized by the time the child is ready to enter

junior high school, and by the simple indication of "S" he has been kept unconscious of the process. In the high schools,¹ the children are thrown into competition and carefully graded according to the normal frequency curve. Grades of "A," "B," "C," "D," and "F" are given but each category contains only its normal percentage. Such a system socializes the children and minimizes the effects of home and community, and it gives a control group with which special classes can be compared.

Special factors that might disturb have been considered carefully. Problems of race and foreign birth are not present. Broken homes were found to exist only in normal proportion, and retardation of the child is not a factor since he is passed into high school largely on the basis of general social adjustment. Occasionally, working class boys enter prevocational training upon finishing the eighth grade. These boys show a median I.Q. of five points higher than the average for the junior high school, and their range extends from I.Q.'s of 80 to 150. The total number of such cases is not sufficient to affect the sample under study, however, being only 150 out of nearly 10,000. Other types of withdrawals due to delinquency, migration, and marriage are also of negligible quantity. All in all, this school system affords a fair situation in which to compare relief people to the general population. The results should be reasonably valid and reliable, and should show with some probability of accuracy the success of the relief children in an educational social system that awards on the basis of merit, as contrasted to the economic order which has no such merit system but merely uses what labor it needs, discards the rest, and questions its fitness for normal status and participation in community life.

To determine the success of the children of relief clients in the pursuit of high school work it was decided to confine the study to intelligence and achievement. For this reason the following questions were raised: What school grades do relief children earn in comparison to the entire school population? What are the results of their intelligence tests as compared with the entire school population? How do the ratios of grades to intelligence compare for both groups?

The seven leading fields of high school work were considered the best index of achievement, thus eliminating the many special fields some of which gave more opportunity to one group than the other, as was the case in music and art which were too costly for relief children to take, and which seemingly attracted the talented to such a degree that grades were not a normal representation; similarly with Latin. Grades in English, mathematics, history, foreign language, science, commerce, and industrial arts were tabulated from 15,000 course records of 3000 relief children with the results shown in Table 1.

This comparison shows that the relief students deviate only .5 percent

¹ "High School" refers to Junior and Senior levels, throughout.

from the normal percentage of "A" grades they could be expected to receive. In itself, the difference is not significant, and could easily occur by chance. In relation to the following deviations of 3.67 percent of "B" grades, 2.66 percent of "C" grades, 5.5 percent of "D" grades, and 1.33 percent of "F" grades there is probably indicated the presence of a factor not attributable to chance alone. However, in view of the fact that life success is generally known to be at some variance with school success, other factors entering, it is just as logical to assume that some cultural conditions present throughout the body of relief children similarly affects their school success in earning grades. In a number of specific cases studied personally and also

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GRADES OF RELIEF STUDENTS
COMPARED TO TOTAL STUDENT BODY, 1934 TO 1938

Grade Classes	Number of Relief Grades	Percent of Relief Grades	Percent Total High School Grades
Total	15,000	100.00	100.00
"A"	1,350	9.00	9.50
"B"	3,200	21.33	25.00
"C"	5,300	35.34	38.00
"D"	3,900	26.00	20.50
"F"	1,250	8.33	7.00

indirectly through the county caseworkers, special conditions were thought to affect the quality of school work. The sacrifice of noonday lunches, the use of soiled books, the strain of home conditions, the wearing of threadbare clothing, the walking of long distances, and the many personal defenses against social ostracization, not to mention the search for odd jobs for trifling income, were factors that affected some students in all grades and classes.

Virtually all capable relief students suffered more or less from the existence of student leadership clubs that specialized in extracurricular activities of the school. These clubs suggest a special uniform, an expensive sweater, and an activity cost of ten dollars per person. Obviously those who could not afford the investment were automatically excluded from participation in many fields of school and community leadership. One needy student remarked,

Of course, you're nothing in our school if you don't join the "club." About one half of the students are in it, and they ignore the rest who aren't. I got around it by going to their meetings and sitting around on the edges of the group as though I were waiting for my friends. In this way I learned what they were doing, and got some benefit, even though I could not afford to belong.

Another testified,

If you show interest in things, or get good grades, you are drawn into activities you can't afford. Sometimes it's better to keep out of things.

The severity of this struggle for a well-rounded high school education on the part of many of the relief students is shown in the fact that while 50 percent of the high school graduates of this community go to college, only 2 percent of the local university students are from relief families and unskilled workers' families combined! It is, therefore, safe to assume that relief students in the high schools studied are not in a position to compete on even terms with those of the general population. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether these special influences of purely environmental nature fully account for the consistent differences between grades of relief children and those of the total population. However, the facts seem to be:

1. The grades of relief children, according to this study, show consistent though moderate negative deviation;
2. Chance may operate due to the particular conditions of the community, but other factors are present;
3. The range of achievement is the same for both groups;
4. Ample scholarship, and leadership if developed, is present among relief children to furnish a "lower class" with talent necessary for its own class ends;
5. Serious personal and social maladjustments may accrue due to lack of socialized opportunity, as a "success" pattern discriminates against children of relief clients.

The second question of the study asked, "What are the facts concerning intelligence of relief children as compared with those of the population at large? Stanford-Binet, Henmon-Nelson, and Terman tests had been given repeatedly to the school children and the results recorded on the students' social record cards. Separate tabulations were made covering the universe of each group as follows:

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS OF RELIEF STUDENTS AND TOTAL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT BODY, 1934-1938

Intelligence Quotients	Relief Students	Total High School
Total	100.00	100.00
145-above	.40	.40
135-144	1.27	1.50
125-134	3.33	4.63
115-124	14.86	23.14
105-114	21.44	23.98
95-104	25.00	22.33
85-94	20.40	13.34
75-84	11.40	9.34
below-74	1.90	1.34

It is of interest to note that both classes, according to the sample the city under study affords, have the same percent of members with intelligence quotients above 145, while the significant range is the same in both cases. The relief students give a median I.Q. of 101.52 while that of the total population is 106.52. Also, the relief group has 65.3 percent of its membership of normal mentality or above while the total group has 76.0 percent normal or above. In general, on this basis, the relief group seem to be 10.7 percent weaker than the total population. It is of special note that the relief children deviate most from the normal group in the I.Q. class 85-94 where they have 52.77 percent more cases in this particular class than has the total population. Similarly, they are below the total population in the I.Q. class 115-124 by 34.48 percent. Definitely, the distribution for the relief children is negative skewed but not consistently biased. For instance, the deviation from the total population in the two modal groups (25.00 percent and 23.98 percent) averages 13.29 percent. Comparing this deviation with 34.48 percent in the higher class, and the 52.77 percent in the lower class, it is obvious that some cultural factor is at work. This may be partly accounted for in the fact that many relief children withdrew from school to aid their parents, or to avoid further expense to the family. This was true in a number of cases where steady jobs became available. However, the depletion of the classes of bright relief children cannot account for the excessive number of those in the lower classes of intelligence. In the light of the sample offered by the community studied the following facts seem to stand out:

1. The relief children show a slight lag in intelligence;
2. That chance is again a factor, although it does not preclude other factors;
3. The deviation is probably due both to cultural and to biological factors;
4. Case studies indicate that the biological assumption upon which the mental testing rests is subject to question since at least one student with an I.Q. of 100 earned a straight "A" record throughout high school; conversely, many brilliant students failed, and some subnormal students received superior grades;
5. Neither class excludes the other at any point;
6. Ample intelligence exists among relief children to furnish talent to serve class ends.

Question three of the study inquired, "What is the relative achievement of relief children in high school as compared with the total population?" It being impractical to calculate for the entire group the ratios of educational age to mental age (on the assumption that E.A./M.A. gives fair index of achievement), the best method seemed to be to compare the grades competitively earned with results of the mental tests, and to consider the ratio a measure of achievement. This also has the further advantage of comparing children who were actually functioning in the same courses, under the same class conditions, and at the same time. Table 3 gives the results.

In classifying the grades earned by the two groups into the three classes

of above average, average, and below average, "A" and "B" grades were combined into the first class, and "D" and "F" grades into the third class. Similarly, I.Q.'s above 104 were combined, and below 95. On this basis, it is of interest that neither group earns the percentage of high grades that its intelligence might suggest, and that both groups get more average and subnormal grades than intelligence alone explains. This fact indicates a disciplinary social pressure affecting both groups alike and offering a definite educational reward to those who may or can persistently apply themselves towards the traditional educational goals. The fact that many students of high ability cannot, or do not acquit themselves creditably

TABLE 3. RATIO OF GRADES EARNED TO INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS OF RELIEF CHILDREN, AND OF THE TOTAL HIGH SCHOOL POPULATION, 1934-1938

Placement	Relief Children			Total High School		
	Percent Grades	Percent I.Q.'s	Index	Percent Grades	Percent I.Q.'s	Index
Total	100.00	100.00	—	100.00	100.00	—
Above average	30.33	41.30	73	34.50	53.65	64
Average	35.34	25.00	141	38.00	22.33	170
Below average	34.33	33.70	102	27.50	24.02	115

indicates a lack of well-roundedness, often due to environmental causes, which involves loss to society as well as to the particular individual. Application of ability, therefore, is definitely rewarded in the organization of the high school society, and it is an index of social importance.

In this respect, the relief students in the community under study showed a consistent effort to earn high grades as the index of 73 indicates. While the better students of the total population might be entering into extra-curricular activities to a greater extent than the relief students, and thereby lowering their grades, it is merely a plausible rationalization. Both groups are far below unity (index of 100) and the relief students receiving an index of 73 certainly do not reveal overcompensation in concentrating upon winning high grades because of the fact they are more or less excluded from social and extracurricular activities in the school community.

In relation to the total population, the relief student shows, for the average class, an index of 141 to 170, which is 17.06 percent below the group at large. Recalling that the relief children earned 2.66 percent fewer grades on the average level, and had 5.00 points less intelligence, and that factors of social selection and of social pressure were present in both instances, the 17.06 negative deviation cannot be attributed directly to mental inferiority. Mental factors, social factors, and pure chance seem to be present with no factor dominant enough to exclude the others.

The below average category is of further interest. While the total population receives an index of 115, the relief children get a rating of 102. In proportion to their intelligence they do not receive as many poor grades as their intelligence might lead one to expect. Combining this condition with the general picture one is led to believe that relief children are engaged in a struggle against odds in which they perform notably in the superior levels and the subnormal levels but lose out on the average. This "wholeness" in point of view might suggest that so far as this study goes cultural factors rather than mental factors might be relatively most significant.

In general conclusion, this study does not support a particularistic view that relief children are, or are not biologically inferior. There is too much overlapping of inferiority on the one side and superiority on the other side, since the range of both groups is almost identical, to warrant such a view. The difference between the medians of the two groups is such that chance as a factor could be expected to cause it in approximately 13 percent of such distributions. Of course, the community in which the study was made may or may not be representative of midwestern city life, or of American urban life as a whole.

Within the limits of this study, it is indicated that the popular tendency towards categorically labelling the relief client as mentally inferior is unsound in that it is far too inclusive a generalization, and one that may result in adverse, and even dangerous, social attitudes since capable people resent ridicule and condemnation for life conditions over which they have no control. In fact, community field work among relief groups over a period of ten years clearly shows that relief people tend to socialize among themselves, withdraw from others, and disconnect themselves socially with those in other social classes who could aid them to get jobs and to attain the social statuses of success. Conversely, leaders in the upper classes have increasing difficulty in rubbing elbows with the relief client. Indeed, some employers would almost as soon hire communists as relief workers. Thus, interclass social connections are severed, those who have jobs to give offer them to personal acquaintances, or on personal influence, and the relief clients have no opportunity to develop the necessary personal contacts to enable them to get jobs. Under such conditions, social leaders must be careful not to label as unfit a class of people whose children, in 66 percent of the cases, show normal ability or better, and in 65 percent of the cases, do average or better schoolwork. Even though the sample of school records studied show fairly consistent negative deviation, it does not constitute clear and final evidence upon which broad rationalizations such as "survival of the fit," "economic selection," and the like, can be accepted.

Of much greater significance is the conclusion that being economically unsuccessful does not imply inferiority, necessarily, in other fields of life. If success in the economic system is to be the criterion of worthwhileness, obviously, thousands of borderline cases are worse off than many of those

on relief, even though they are succeeding in keeping off relief. The values of life cannot be confined to economic limitations, and a highly centralized and excluding system of economic hierarchy will only impoverish the general culture by eliminating the contributions which can be made by members of the excluded classes who have about the same degree of ability found in the "upper classes" and who may become more numerous. On the other hand, goading and sniping at relievers, which is possible because of the dearth of jobs, may give a temporary social solidarity but only at the expense of increasing rates of social and personal disorganization. Already, the relief and borderline classes have a subculture which in time may engage in a social struggle against the controls of the "upper classes" that at best can only lead to the compromising of democracy.

It also appears, if there is adequacy in the sample, that there is quite enough ability among relief classes to train them in civic and community responsibilities. This ability will either be developed democratically in a well socialized community life, or, being turned aside by the forces of social division, it will develop, and in time administer, its own class culture. Our present system of selective social mobility in which the "successful" find jobs for the outstanding leaders among the "unsuccessful" for purposes of personal and social control has dubious merit. Under it, we see a temporary breaking down of subculture leadership, but increasing dissatisfaction among the "unfit" and increasing inability of members of the two groups to socialize in the interests of the community as a whole.

In a broader sense, the relative efficiency of the educational system for doing its job can scarcely be overlooked in comparison to the organization for economic life. Relief children fare better in school than do their parents in the occupational struggle. As democracy increases its efficiency in social organization in response to the influence from more authoritarian patterns of organization, the lag in social efficiency will need quantitative analysis. Meantime, generalizations concerning the unfitness of the "unfit" should be made only with the greatest caution.

The present findings may be noted to be in more or less conformity to the findings of other studies made in this general field since 1916, so ably presented by Clark and Gist.² However, numerous differences in method and conclusion should be noted. The present study selects its data from the unfit and not the fit, and the field of the unfit has been affected by the socio-economic breakdown of the past ten years. In the second place, the conclusions are drawn from the point of view of social process, and not from social organization or status. In the milieu of class struggle and shifting ideologies, it matters little that an alleged "superior" group has a slight margin of alleged endowment over the "inferior" group, since other factors than endowment obviously are involved and their actual significance is not fully known at present.

² Clark and Gist, "Occupational Choice and Intelligence," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, October, 1938.

PRETESTING OF QUESTIONNAIRES*

RAYMOND F. SLETTO

University of Minnesota

USE of the questionnaire appears to be steadily increasing despite the vast amount of criticism of this instrument, the growing awareness among investigators of its limitations, and the small proportion of returns commonly yielded by the questionnaire. The greatest increase in the use of this device during the past decade has not been by individual social scientists but by governmental and business organizations.

Amplified employment of the questionnaire by governmental agencies is explained by the unprecedented demands upon them during these depression years and the need for gathering data quickly to formulate new programs and to check upon their effectiveness. An investigation recently completed by the Central Statistical Board provides evidence concerning the widespread use of the questionnaire by governmental agencies for these purposes.¹

Business corporations are making increased use of the questionnaire primarily for market research. Study of consumers' preferences by this means has been judged a profitable way to discover unexploited markets, to test the effectiveness of advertising campaigns, and more particularly to aid manufacturers in designing their products so as to maximize sales. As an example of this trend, one may cite an automobile corporation which sends fifteen or twenty questionnaires a year to potential purchasers of its products.

Meanwhile, there is no evidence that social scientists have been utilizing the questionnaire less often or that they can dispense with this technique when it is necessary to gather information at low cost from a large number of people living at a distance from the investigator. The increasing use of the questionnaire by government and business, does, however, present a dual challenge to the social scientist when he finds it necessary to use this device. The social scientist must now compete with these new users of the questionnaire for the time and attention of the recipients of these inquiries, as well as against all of the other competing demands upon the time of the average man that are made by the motion pictures, the radio, the magazine, the newspaper, and the host of organizations whose existence depends upon his interest and participation.

These new users seem more aware than do many social scientists of the urgency of this competition, and more cognizant of the need for making

* Presented to the American Sociological Society at Philadelphia, December 28, 1939.

¹ Central Statistical Board, *A Report of the Central Statistical Board on the Returns Made by the Public to the Federal Government*, House Doc. No. 27, 76th Cong., 1st Session, Washington, D. C., 1939.

their questionnaires attractive and interesting, if they are to yield a high proportion of returns. When we have constructed questionnaires to be mailed, we have too frequently overlooked the importance of motivating the recipient, gaining his undivided attention, and sustaining his interest until the task is completed. We have not sufficiently realized how reluctant most adults are to engage in activities requiring writing according to rules, and how negativistic they are in their reactions to the unattractive, closely spaced, duplicated, examination-like questionnaires which have so often come from our desks. In fact, we have carried over the procedures found effective with questionnaires distributed in a classroom to this new situation where there is no similar compulsion to reply. Yet there is every reason to believe that social scientists can prepare questionnaires fully as effective in producing returns as are those constructed for business corporations, and that are far more satisfactory than questionnaires have been in the past. Through systematic study of the factors affecting returns, and through the use of pretesting techniques, it seems probable that we can substantially increase the proportion of returns commonly yielded by questionnaires.

Recently, the writer was called upon to act as a research technician in the construction of a questionnaire that seemed destined to yield a low proportion of returns, if traditional methods were followed. This questionnaire was to be sent to 1,600 former university students, so selected as to provide a representative sample of the entering freshman classes at the University of Minnesota in the years 1924-25, 1925-26, 1928-29, and 1929-30. Their median age was now approximately 30 years; they had been out of school for from 1 to 13 years. This questionnaire was intended to be a comprehensive survey of four major fields of human activity—the vocational, the family life, the socio-civic, and the leisure areas. An expenditure of at least ten thousand dollars was contemplated on this study before its completion over a period of three years. The findings were to be combined with other source materials to provide a basis for reconstructing the curriculum of the General College of the University of Minnesota.

The prospects for obtaining a high proportion of returns seemed poor for many reasons. Sixty percent of the intended recipients of the questionnaire had left the University without graduating, a large share of them because of inability to meet its requirements. Approximately one sixth of the group had actually been dropped by the University, usually for low scholarship. Only a small minority of these former students were affiliated with the University Alumni Association. The median time since leaving school was approximately seven years. It was proposed to send this group a very long questionnaire containing several hundred items.

The important purpose to be served by the questionnaire, the obstacles in the way of a large return, the heavy cost of the investigation, and the uncertainty of its feasibility were among the factors making it imperative

to determine in advance whether a high proportion of returns could be obtained under these conditions, and how this proportion could be increased. The assumption was made that the proportion of returns yielded by questionnaires may depend in large measure upon factors within the control of the investigator.

Inspection of the journals of research shows that very few studies have been reported in which questionnaire techniques are the *subject* of investigation, although hundreds of studies are found utilizing the questionnaire as a *method* of investigation. For most of the decisions to be made in the construction and use of the questionnaire, there is no tested body of knowledge to guide the investigator in his choices. This situation makes it necessary to employ pretesting techniques to obtain tentative answers to many problems whose final solution requires intensive research and verification of findings.

The first problem investigated in the present study was that of the effect of length of a questionnaire on the proportion of returns. To obtain a tentative answer to this problem through pretesting, the names and addresses of 300 former university students were obtained. This group was presumably a much more responsive one than the final sample was likely to be, since all of them were graduates of the University and all were members of its Alumni Association. It was thought, however, that the effect of length of the questionnaire would be apparent in their responses. (1)

This group was divided into three subgroups of 100, every third name in alphabetical order being assigned to each group. The first subgroup was mailed a 10-page questionnaire relating to their vocational activities, interests, and needs. The second subgroup was mailed a 25-page questionnaire relating to their socio-civic activities, interests, and attitudes. The third subgroup was mailed both of these questionnaires totaling 35 pages in length.

These mimeographed questionnaires were of the check-list type, and all were mailed on the same day. Utilizing three follow-up requests, the proportion of returns was 68 percent from the group sent the 10 pages and 60 percent from that sent the 25 pages. The group sent both questionnaires in the same envelope yielded 63 percent returns. Since the group sent the 35 pages yielded a larger proportion of returns than the group sent the 25 pages, and only five percent fewer returns than the group sent the 10 pages, it was concluded that the factor of length, between the limits of 10 and 35 pages, was not likely to affect returns to the final questionnaire by more than five to ten percent. There is reason to think that the difference between the returns to the 10 pages and to the 25 pages was due less to the factor of length than to the interest value of the questionnaire content, since the group sent both questionnaires yielded a larger proportion of returns than did the group sent the 25-page questionnaire.

This first experiment in pretesting suggests that the factor of length is

less important than it has generally been assumed to be, insofar as proportion of returns is concerned. However, it may be that the effect of length is more pronounced within the limits of one to ten pages, and that within this range a virtual plateau is reached in questionnaires of the check-list type. If such a situation exists, is there some limit beyond which the returns begin to fall off sharply when additional pages are added to a questionnaire? Would these same results be gained, if the group were not one consisting of college-trained people? Future research alone can provide us with answers.

2 The second problem investigated by the pretesting method involved the extent to which returns are affected by the nature of the appeals employed in the letter of solicitation which accompanies the questionnaire. Three different letters were prepared, each appealing to the recipient to respond to the questionnaire. The first letter called upon the individual to help improve education for the thousands of young people who would be entering the University during the year. The second letter directed attention to the changes occurring in education and requested help to guide these changes "in the right direction." The third letter challenged the recipient to help do something that people say "can't be done." The letter explained that many people believed a study like this could not succeed because former university students are too much concerned with their personal affairs or too disinterested in education to respond to a lengthy questionnaire.

The same three groups utilized in the first experiment were employed in this one. One third of each group received each letter. Thus, the letters were so distributed that a like number of each type were sent to those who received the 10 pages, those who received the 25 pages, and those who received the 35 pages. Each person received but one of the three letters and a systematic record was made of the number of questionnaires returned by the recipients of each letter.

The first letter, containing the altruistic appeal to help improve education for the thousands of young people entering the University, yielded the highest returns amounting to 67 percent. The second letter yielded 64 percent, and the third letter 60 percent. The first letter was, therefore, adopted for use when the final questionnaire was sent to the final group. The differences in the proportion of returns yielded by the three letters are not large enough to yield critical ratios that are statistically significant according to conventional standards. The superiority of the first letter in producing returns was, nevertheless, consistently maintained throughout the time period of the returns. Since pretesting of questionnaires will normally involve small numbers of cases, we must expect most "true" differences to yield small critical ratios.

3 The third experiment, conducted with the same three groups, was designed to determine whether we could use postal cards instead of letters in sending follow-up notices to those who did not return the questionnaire in

response to the initial letter of solicitation. If postal cards are as effective as letters in producing returns, substantial economies can be made in postal costs, particularly when a large group is to be sent several follow-up requests.

Six weeks after the trial questionnaires had been mailed, the first follow-up request was sent to 192 persons who had not responded to the initial letter. Within each of the three subgroups, every other person on the mailing list was sent a postal card, and every remaining one a letter. Thus, there were 96 persons who received a follow-up request on a standard penny postal card, and 96 who received the same request on university stationery in a sealed envelope. The same mimeograph stencil was used for the letter as for the postal card, all were signed with the same hand-written signature and all were mailed on the same day. Three weeks later, when another follow-up request was sent, a check was made on the number of returns to the first follow-up. It was found that there were 28 returns to the postal card and 28 returns to the letter. Since the number was identical, the postal card was employed thereafter in sending follow-up requests, and the postal expenses were reduced by more than 50 percent.

The fourth investigation with these three trial subgroups related to maintaining interest in the questionnaire, a problem of special importance with long questionnaires such as the 25-page inquiry on socio-civic affairs. The last page of this questionnaire listed the twelve sections it contained, preceded by these instructions:

The sections of the check-list you have just completed are listed below. Please place an X before any sections that you thought were difficult to fill out, dull, or unrelated to your experience.

Table 1, based upon the returns from the first 60 respondents to the questionnaire, shows wide differences to exist between the sections in the extent to which they were found to be difficult, dull, or unrelated to the experience of the recipients.

Inspection of the table reveals that 22 of the 60 respondents reacted unfavorably to the section relating to the problems of their communities, although none of them responded this way to the section concerning their reading habits with reference to various portions of their newspapers. Another striking fact is that the four sections of the questionnaire yielding the largest frequencies of adverse responses were adjacent to each other. On the basis of these findings, care was taken in the construction of the final questionnaire to space the difficult sections so they did not appear so near the beginning nor in a cluster.

Perhaps this trial questionnaire was saved from a small proportion of returns by the character of the first section which ranked low in the number of unfavorable reactions to it. The results suggest that a difficult questionnaire may be made to yield a higher proportion of returns by adding an

interesting first section, since the decision to respond may be made in a large share of the cases on the basis of inspection of the first few pages of a questionnaire. Once this decision has been made and the work has been undertaken, difficult sections may be of diminished importance in reducing returns.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF ADVERSE RESPONSES AMONG SIXTY PERSONS
TO SECTIONS OF A QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Section in the Questionnaire	Number of Adverse Responses*
Your Activities	2
Your Community	22
Your Discussion Topics	12
Your Interests in National Organizations	19
Your Laws and Courts	17
Your Clubs and Organizations	8
Your Newspaper Reading	0
Your Government	10
Some Economic Aspects of Your Life	8
Your Enjoyment of Radio Programs	2
Your Enjoyment of Motion Pictures	3
Your Points of View	2
Total	105

* An adverse response is defined as a check mark made by a person to indicate that he found a section of the questionnaire to be difficult, dull, or unrelated to his experience.

Several pretesting experiments were conducted to gain knowledge applicable to enhancing the attractiveness and interest value of the questionnaire. The knowledge acquired in these experiments was applied to select an aesthetically pleasing cover design for the questionnaire, to find a title which would arouse interest, to choose an attractive page format, to determine upon a size and style of type that would make the final printed questionnaire easily readable even under poor illumination and by people with less than normal vision, and to find photographs of high interest value and appropriateness to illustrate the various sections of the questionnaire.

One of these experimental studies of aesthetic preferences will be cited as representative of this type of pretesting. The purpose of this experiment was to select a page format that would be aesthetically pleasing and to ascertain the extent to which aesthetic preferences, as they relate to design of questionnaires, are similar from person to person and for similar groups of persons. The spacing of photograph, page title and text, and the character of the decorative lines used to integrate these elements of the page, are factors affecting the aesthetic impression produced by a page design.

Ten different page formats, prepared by an artist who had special qualifications for this work, were submitted to one university class containing

23 students and to another containing 24. Art students were avoided in this experiment on the assumption that they were likely to differ more from a cross-section of the former university population than do students in other university classes. Each person in these two classes was requested to select the page he liked best and the one he liked least among the ten submitted. The same photograph, title, and text were found on each page in order to control these factors. The spacing of these elements and the decorative lines employed were the only variables from page to page.

Students in this experiment were cautioned not to communicate with each other until after their choices had been recorded on slips of paper and collected. When these choices were tabulated, it was found that two of the ten designs were much superior to the others, since they received 28 of the 47 votes as most preferred and only 3 of the 47 negative votes as least preferred. The two least liked designs were accorded 32 of the 47 negative votes and none of the positive votes. The remaining 19 positive and 12 negative votes were distributed among the other six designs. When these 10 designs were ranked according to the number of positive votes obtained in each group, and these ranks were correlated for the two groups, a rank order coefficient of .74 was found. When the designs were ranked according to the number of negative votes, the rank order correlation coefficient was .70. These results indicate that aesthetic preferences are not highly individualistic and erratic, but rather that a strong consensus of preferences exists within homogeneous social groups.

The experiments in pretesting described in this paper have been selected to indicate the range of problems to which the technique has been applied in the preparation of one questionnaire. More than six months were spent in the construction of this questionnaire, every page being revised at least five times before it reached final form. Additional experiments have been conducted in the preparation of a later questionnaire sent to all social case workers in Minnesota for the purpose of revising the curriculum in social work at the University of Minnesota. This second questionnaire will yield a higher proportion of returns than the first questionnaire described in this paper, judging from the fact that two thirds of the social workers have already replied to this 50-page questionnaire which is still yielding returns.

The final questionnaire sent to former university freshmen contained 52 printed pages and yielded 69 percent returns from the 1381 former students who received it.² However, even this high proportion of returns has been found to have been affected by selective factors which tended to distort the sampling.³ Thus, 75 percent of those who failed to return the question-

² The original sample of 1600 was reduced to 1381 by faulty addresses which made it impossible to mail some questionnaires and resulted in the return of others by the post office as undeliverable.

³ See C. Robert Pace, "Factors Influencing Questionnaire Returns from Former University Students," *J. App. Psychol.*, June 1939, 388-397.

naire were nongraduates while the original group selected to be representative of all entering freshmen during four years, contained but 60 percent who did not graduate. These results indicate that greater attention should have been given in the pretesting experiments to discovery of selective factors that would be operative when the final questionnaire was sent, and to the devising of ways for reducing their effects.

To those who plan to construct questionnaires, one should also emphasize the importance of applying the method of pretesting to the problems of increasing the reliability and validity of responses to questionnaires. By giving a questionnaire to a trial group on two occasions and comparing replies, it is possible to detect the questions producing least reliable responses. Moreover, the replies obtained from pretest groups can be compared with those yielded by oral interviews or with data gathered by any other method thought likely to yield more valid responses. Thereby, the investigator will gain a knowledge of the probable limitations of his data and guidance in changing the final questionnaire in the direction of more valid responses.

In short, the method of pretesting provides a means for detecting mistakes in procedure before they exact heavy penalties in the form of a low proportion of returns or of replies lacking in reliability and validity. Pretesting is essentially a trial and error procedure wherein the successful trials are repeated and the errors are avoided when the final questionnaire is sent to the final group. Through the wider use of pretesting, it may even be possible to appease the critics who have so frequently and justly condemned questionnaires of the past.

THE ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF MENTAL DISORDERS*

STUART A. QUEEN

Washington University

MEMBERS of the American Sociological Society are doubtless familiar in a general way with the ecological study of mental disorders in Chicago. Those interested in the relations between psychiatry and sociology have, of course, read R. E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham's book.¹ Hence they know that Providence data have been assembled and analyzed as a partial check on the Chicago findings. Some sociologists have seen Green's study of persons admitted to the state hospital in Cleveland;² and some know about the cooperative study sponsored by the Mid-West Sociological Society which covered six cities—Milwaukee, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, Peoria, and Rockford. As noted, the Chicago, Providence, and Cleveland studies have been published. The St. Louis study has been presented by William L. J. Dee as a master's thesis at Washington University.³ Data from the other cities are not yet available.

To say that these several studies involve direct imitation of the work done by Faris and Dunham is to reflect no discredit on anyone. As a matter of fact, the Mid-West cooperative project was undertaken in response to a suggestion of E. W. Burgess that the Chicago findings needed to be checked by similar research in other cities. Unfortunately, the Mid-West project is not yet finished; hence this paper must also be incomplete.

It should not be necessary here to discuss the nature of ecological studies other than to say that for practical purposes they consist in the investigation of spatial distribution of social groups, of culture traits and complexes, of human types, of various factors presumably related thereto, and processes through which patterns develop and change. These studies commonly rest on certain assumptions, e.g., that locus and status are so related that each is indicative of the other; that change of status accompanies change of locus; that both locus and status are determined (not finally, but constantly) by a natural, competitive process, displayed through mobility or movement. With specific reference to urbanism, it is assumed that various parts of a city have characteristic features—physical, demographic, cultural, etc. It is also assumed that a city, taken as a whole, has a character.

* Presented to the American Sociological Society at Philadelphia, December 29, 1939.

¹ R. E. L. Faris, and H. W. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*, University of Chicago Press, 1939.

² H. W. Green, *Persons Admitted to the Cleveland State Hospital, 1928-1937*, Cleveland Health Council, 1939.

³ William L. J. Dee, "An Ecological Study of Mental Disorders in Metropolitan St. Louis," unpublished master's thesis at Washington University, 1939.

istic spatial pattern. Of course, all these assumptions should be accepted only as working hypotheses, but they serve our immediate purpose by indicating the orientation of those sociologists who are sometimes called ecologists.

Turning from ecological studies in general, we note some of the assumptions underlying the studies of mental disorders. The first is that personality development or disorganization is bound up with at least five classes of factors—(a) organic conditions, (b) physical environment, (c) cultural setting, (d) group membership and participation, (e) person-to-person relationships. The second is that these factors vary within a city so that different sections may be expected to present rather different types of personalities, or at least to contain given types in quite different proportions. This means that we may expect to find persons of the sorts we consider psychopathic and insane concentrated in certain parts of a city, particularly in areas of social disorganization and physical deterioration.

More specifically it is suggested that schizophrenia is associated with personal isolation, that such isolation is most marked near the heart of a city, in blighted areas where rooming-houses and converted tenements abound, where sex ratios are high and where residential mobility is great. It is known that paresis is a product of syphilis; it is believed that syphilis is spread principally by sexual promiscuity; and it is suggested that persons who engage in such relations are most frequently residents of the inner city where abound poverty, delinquency, and high death rates, as well as venereal disease and houses of prostitution. Senile dementia and other disorders associated with old age are supposed to lead most frequently to institutionalization in areas of low economic status, where incomes are small and many families are on relief. We shall see what evidence there is that sheds light on these hypotheses; and, if the evidence supports them, what further significance they may have.

From these hypotheses it is plain that the students of urban ecology hope to identify relationships of causal significance. Challenging the faith of the ecologists are skeptics of several sorts. Some question the value of all ecological studies, holding that there is little ground for assuming the existence of significant relationships between spatial distribution and sociological processes. Others hold that the etiology of mental disorders is so complex and the factors involved are so elusive that it is fruitless to spend time on such external items as income, housing, and location on the map. Before discussing these moot points further, it is worth our while to see what the studies actually show.

First let us consider the distribution of all cases of serious mental disorder so far as they are obtainable. The maps on pages 33 and 36 of Faris and Dunham's book display a pattern which fits very closely Burgess' conventionalized scheme of concentric circles. The data on which these maps

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are based include all first admissions to both public and private hospitals over a 12 year period. In computing ratios, use was made of the population aged 15 and over. Data were assembled by census tracts and combined in 120 "subcommunities" and 68 "communities." Areas with the highest ratios or rates were the central business district with its hotels, the adjacent hobo and rooming house sections, and Negro apartment house areas.

In St. Louis, there is a similar concentration, though it is not quite so marked. The map shows a heavy concentration in and about the downtown section, as in Chicago, but it also indicates high rates in several outlying districts. It further shows a relatively high incidence of commitments from a wide strip across the middle of the city running from the River on the east to the western city limits. This wedge-shaped territory also appears on maps depicting poverty, mobility, sex ratios, marital status, and size of family. However, it should be noted that the data on which this map is based cover only one public institution. The ratios are those of first admissions 1931-36 to 1930 population, 21 years of age and over, by census tracts. In support of using the City Sanitarium alone, we know that it receives a great majority of all first admissions. Against using it, we know that private hospital cases come in considerable numbers from outlying parts of the city. Also, it is well known that well-to-do families sometimes send their psychotic members to distant hospitals. However, the St. Louis data seem in general to confirm the Chicago findings.

Cleveland data also lend partial support to the hypothesis that institutionalized mental patients come predominantly from areas of dense population,⁴ low economic status,⁵ and high delinquency rates,⁴ most of which areas surround the central business district. The precise degree of conformity to the conventionalized concentric pattern has not yet been measured because Green was more interested in the relation of various social phenomena to economic areas. The Cleveland data represent first admissions over a 10-year period to one public hospital. The rates are those of patients per 1000 families. This is unfortunate because size of family differs in various parts of the city and means little in rooming house areas.

In Providence, Faris' study of a single public hospital yielded results similar to those obtained in St. Louis and Cleveland. In other words, the areas of highest incidence are similar in all four cities, but the pattern is clearest in Chicago. Just what this characteristic distribution means is hard to say, for patients come with a wide variety of diagnoses. Even if socioeconomic conditions are effective in producing mental breakdown, they must operate on a good many different kinds of persons and in many different ways.

⁴ H. W. Green, *Population Characteristics by Census Tracts, Cleveland, Ohio, 1930*, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1931.

⁵ H. W. Green, *Nine Years of Relief in Greater Cleveland, 1928-1937*, Cleveland Health Council, 1937.

Hence, it is important to examine the data pertaining to particular kinds of mental disorders.

We turn first to schizophrenia or dementia praecox, a so-called functional disorder, which might be expected to occur in relation to personal isolation and factors associated therewith. Faris and Dunham found in Chicago a pattern of distribution very similar to that for all types of patients. Rates are highest in and about the Loop, declining with only slight irregularities as we proceed from the center of the city to the periphery. In detail, the highest rates are found in sections frequented by hoboes. The next highest rates appear in central rooming house districts. In both types of areas, large numbers of persons are known to be detached from continuous group participation and devoid of lasting personal relationships. It is also significant that in Negro apartment districts, where the general schizophrenia rates are high, they also are especially high for white residents. The incidence of dementia praecox is very great among persons "residing in areas not primarily populated by members of their own groups."⁶ The St. Louis data support the Chicago findings on this point. These facts imply a measure of personal isolation, but raise interesting questions as to how these people came to be separated from their own ethnic groups and whether their residence among strangers may increase the likelihood of their behavior being unacceptable and of their being committed to hospitals.

For the city of St. Louis, we again find a pattern that resembles that of Chicago, but it is far from being identical. There are tracts with low rates fairly near the heart of the city and tracts with high rates on the periphery. When census tracts are combined into larger areas the pattern is pretty clear. It is one of concentration in and about the central business district, spreading westward to the city limits, but not showing the same gradient toward the southwest and displaying a still greater difference toward the northwest. When suburbs are included, little remains of the general pattern except the east-west strip through the middle of the city. As Faris and Dunham in Chicago, so Dee in St. Louis found negative correlations between the distribution of schizophrenia and economic status, and positive correlations with mobility, but the coefficients are not high enough to have more than a dubious sort of significance. It should be noted that the St. Louis data, like those from Chicago, include first admissions to both public and private hospitals, but of course there is no account taken of St. Louisans hospitalized outside the state.

In Providence, Faris found dementia praecox most prevalent in the central part of the city with the next highest rates in adjacent sections. He found the distribution of this disorder positively correlated with relief rates, negatively correlated with rents paid, and with home ownership. These findings correspond fairly well with those from Chicago and St. Louis.

⁶ Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, 56.

It is a bit difficult to visualize the pattern of schizophrenia's distribution in Cleveland, because the maps portray absolute rather than relative numbers of cases in each tract. Inspection of the spot maps convinces us that schizophrenia is not so highly concentrated in Cleveland as are mental disorders in general. However, considering the ten economic areas into which Green has divided Cleveland, we find high positive correlations between the schizophrenia series and density of population, poverty (relief cases), and juvenile delinquency (boys). In contrast with St. Louis, Cleveland shows a low negative correlation between the schizophrenia series and mobility.⁷ This deserves further study.

The measures of mobility differ so from city to city that they are not strictly comparable. In Cleveland, it was measured by connections and disconnections with four public utilities. In St. Louis, it was measured by comparing the city directories for two successive years. In Chicago, it was indicated by length of residence, types of housing, and percentages of home ownership. From the standpoint of Faris' and Dunham's hypothesis of the relation of schizophrenia to personal isolation, it is important to study mobility by uniform methods, because high residential mobility indicates little participation in neighborhood, community, and local interest groups.

In general, it seems to be established that cases of institutionalized schizophrenia come most frequently from the blighted areas surrounding central business districts. These are areas characterized by rooming houses, converted tenements, poverty, delinquency, and high death rates. In such areas, mobility appears to be high and social participation appears to be low, but both of these propositions need further study. We also need to inquire further whether schizophrenics are attracted or developed by such districts; or whether perhaps persons with a predisposition or tendency to dementia praecox drift into such areas and there live under conditions which bring their abnormality to a recognizable stage. Faris and Dunham are inclined to the last alternative and have tested their assumption by comparing the distribution of young and of old cases. These they found to be much alike. In Providence, Faris used still another procedure, namely, to trace the previous addresses of a large number of schizophrenics and to summarize the direction of movement. He found "not nearly enough drift toward the center of the city to account for the concentration of rates."⁸ A simpler project would be to study the place of family residence or the distribution of young patients living in their parental homes at the time of commitment. Finally, even granting that socioeconomic conditions of blighted areas precipitate, if they do not initiate cases of schizophrenia, we have no adequate explanation of why some persons succumb while others do not. Faris

⁷ H. W. Green, *Movements of Families Within the Cleveland Metropolitan District, 1933*, Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland, 1934.

⁸ From a letter written by R. E. L. Faris.

and Dunham have valuable leads from their case studies,⁹ but we need more detailed studies of patients from such areas along with control groups of presumably normal persons living in the same districts.

When we turn from dementia praecox to manic-depressive psychoses we find no evidence of any kind of regular pattern. Thus, the St. Louis map shows that tracts with relatively high rates are scattered from downtown to the western city limits. The Cleveland spot map indicates a similar random distribution. In Chicago, the rates in different zones and sections show remarkably little variation. That is, neither distance nor direction from the center seems to have any significance. "Neither high nor low rates are distributed in any systematic fashion throughout the city."¹⁰ However, in Cleveland, Chicago, and St. Louis there is apparently some relation between economic status and the distribution of manic-depressive psychoses. This relation is not marked,¹¹ but insofar as it exists, it is almost the opposite of what we found in respect to schizophrenia. That is, manic-depressive psychoses are found somewhat more frequently in areas of high than of low economic status, while schizophrenia appears much more frequently in areas of low economic status. These facts are attested by coefficients of correlation between the two series of mental cases and median rentals and relief cases. This difference between the distribution of manic-depressive psychoses and of dementia praecox is in part related to the fact that in Chicago and St. Louis private hospitals received half of the manic-depressive patients but only one sixth of the schizophrenic patients. Despite the fact that Cleveland data pertain only to a state hospital, it is noteworthy that here too is indicated a positive relation between manic-depressive cases and economic status. Faris and Dunham suggest three possible explanations of this situation. First, there may be a tendency for private hospitals to give more hopeful diagnoses. Second, there may be a real selection of manic-depressive cases by the private hospitals. Third, manic-depressive cases may actually come from a higher economic level than do cases of schizophrenia. A fourth possibility has been suggested; it is that, since manic-depressive psychoses are episodic with intervals of effective functioning, there may be a reluctance of public officials to commit them when there are so many seemingly more urgent cases. This would, of course, be most significant in poor parts of the city. Only a careful study of many individual patients can check these hypotheses.

Having considered two of the so-called functional disorders we shall now examine the data concerning two of the organic group. The first is paresis, also referred to as general paralysis or psychoses with syphilitic meningo-encephalitis. In Chicago and Cleveland, we find a negative relation between

⁹ Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, 174-177.

¹⁰ Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, 56.

¹¹ An apparent exception to this statement is the correlation of $-.74$ between relief rates and manic-depressive rates in St. Louis.

the distribution of paresis and economic status. In St. Louis, too, there is a concentration in sections marked by poverty, but taking the city as a whole the correlation between economic status and paresis is too low to be significant. The relation between the distribution of paresis and mobility appears to be positive in Chicago, but negative in Cleveland and St. Louis. The differences may be due to differences in ways of measuring mobility, but there may be real differences in spatial distribution. In Chicago, there is a positive correlation with venereal disease and with vice resorts. In St. Louis, even though the data on venereal disease were taken only from the municipal clinic, the correlation with paresis is too low to be significant. Thus, the only point on which there seems to be even partial agreement is that hospitalization for paresis is associated with poverty. Whether the patients have fallen from a higher level or have always been marginal men can be determined only by case studies.

We come finally to the senile group. Faris and Dunham found senile psychoses concentrated most highly in rooming house and Negro areas where economic status is low and mobility is high. Dee found a concentration in the central business district with its rooming houses and hotels, but few cases in the adjoining Negro section. Taking the city as a whole, his findings were still more in contrast with those of Faris and Dunham. Dee found no relation at all between distribution of senile psychoses and economic status or between these psychoses and mobility. The reasons for these differences may lie in the care with which diagnoses were made. Overworked staffs probably do not worry much about precise diagnoses of aged patients. Faris and Dunham and Green considered separately psychoses with cerebral arteriosclerosis. Dee did not include these in his study. The Chicago data indicate a high correlation with cases on relief. The Cleveland data show a similar relation, but not in the same degree. In Cleveland, there is a negative correlation between the arteriosclerosis series and mobility.

Where then have these observations brought us? First of all, it is plain that mental patients are not evenly distributed over the city but are more or less concentrated in limited areas. However, for different disorders both the degree and the locale of concentration are varied. The ecological data indicate not only the sections where mental disorders appear most frequently, but they also establish crude relationships with other statistical series. Thus, they point to possible causal relations between various sociological, economic, and demographic factors and the incidence of specific psychoses. They suggest the need of more detailed studies of these possible relationships.

In making, this analysis, we have encountered several difficulties and limitations. These have to do with accuracy of data, adequacy of data, divergent procedures, and some other matters which we shall mention presently. As to accuracy of data, the first question pertains to diagnoses.

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Psychiatrists acknowledge the difficulty of differential diagnosis. In a given record is often found a variety of opinions from different doctors. While a statistical manual has been prepared by the American Psychiatric Association and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, it is not consistently followed, perhaps because many cases do not lend themselves to being segregated into a single category. Faris and Dunham offer the estimate that their data may contain an error of 30 to 40 percent. Another question of accuracy involves addresses. Some patients are transferred to a mental hospital from an old people's home, jail, or other institution and no home address can be secured. Some records contain the address of a near relative rather than the patient's previous address. However, in the great majority of instances a definite home address is given.

As to the adequacy of data, we have only hospitalized cases. Patients cared for in convalescent homes or in private homes are missed entirely. How much their inclusion would affect the results we do not know. Neither do we know how the distribution of all psychotic persons would compare with the distribution of those who are institutionalized. Dr. Emery says, "First admission means not only presence of psychotic symptoms, but also that no one takes sufficient personal interest to protect the patient from the committing machinery."¹² In Cleveland and Providence, private hospitals were not included in the studies, but this is probably not very serious. There is also a question of what Dee calls a "racial bias." Institutional care of Negroes is notoriously less adequate than that for whites. Some immigrant groups are said to resist institutionalization of their members. How much this sort of bias may affect the results of these studies we have no present means of knowing.¹³ Finally, there is a question as to the size of samples. In Chicago, the total was about 35,000 cases; in Cleveland, about 3000; in St. Louis, about 3500; in Providence, about 1000. For specific disorders, the figures were sometimes rather small, and for specific areas they even dropped to zero. To offset this difficulty, Faris and Dunham combined census tracts into 120 "subcommunities" and combined these into 68 "communities." In St. Louis, Dee's work was done in terms of 128 tracts, but I have combined his data for 26 census areas. The general patterns are not greatly changed thereby, but I have not computed coefficients of correlation for the larger areas. In Cleveland, Green grouped census tracts into first 14, then 10, economic levels or areas. My analysis of his data makes use of these economic areas rather than the separate tracts.

The divergent procedures just referred to make intercity comparisons a bit difficult. Other differences in methods include the bases on which ratios are computed. In Chicago, the base is population aged 15 and over; in St. Louis, it is population aged 21 and over; in Cleveland, it is the number of families. The seriousness of this difference I commented on earlier. Another

¹² From a note to the author.

¹³ Faris has expressed doubt that there was any "racial bias" in Providence.

handicap is due to the absence of ratio maps for Cleveland. They could be made from published data, but lack of time has kept me from undertaking this task. The varied methods of measuring mobility were discussed above.

Two more limitations should be noted. Most of the studies so far completed fail to reveal social processes. Faris and Dunham supplemented the strictly ecological studies with case studies from which they have worked out a type-sequence of three stages in the development of schizophrenia.¹⁴ The others yield still pictures but no movies. They might be classed as static rather than dynamic. The processes in which socioeconomic factors are involved, along with biological and psychological factors, in the development of psychoses can hardly be discovered except through more detailed studies of patients and nonpatients in varied types of areas. The other limitation is much like the one just mentioned. The relationship between these series of statistical data do not assure us of the concurrence of given factors in individual patients. Dr. Plant said in reviewing Faris' and Dunham's book, "It hardly seems possible that such a painstaking piece of work could be done on so many people and yet yield so little knowledge about any one of them."¹⁵ In a sense, Dr. Plant's criticism was not quite fair, but the principle seems clear that statistical studies and case studies are necessary supplements to each other.

The kind of study I should like to see undertaken next by sociologists may be illustrated in terms of schizophrenia. From an area in which the incidence of this disorder is high, select a number of cases, say 100, for detailed, but not psychiatric, study. Assemble, on a schedule for each patient, data from his life history with special reference to changes in group participation (family, neighborhood, school, clubs; etc.), in cultural activities (reading, movies, radio, sports, productive work, etc.), in economic status, and in place and character of residence. Obviously, these are not the only items of possible importance, but they are relevant to the hypothesis about the part isolation plays in the development of dementia praecox. Having studied 100 schizophrenics, then use the same schedule for assembling data about 100 presumably normal persons living in the same area and paired as to age, sex, and ethnic group. Then select another 100 schizophrenics, whose residence is in areas of low incidence of this disorder. Use the same schedule and pair the patients in the two lists as to age, sex, and ethnic group. I believe that such a study would prove a very valuable supplement to the work heretofore done by sociologists studying areas and by psychiatrists studying individuals separately.

In conclusion, it is my judgment that the ecological studies of mental disorders have already yielded significant data and have suggested interpretations. The studies made so far have some serious limitations, but they point the way to new avenues of research which may prove very fruitful.

¹⁴ Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, 175

¹⁵ James S. Plant, in *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 44: 1001, May 1939.

THE BURGESS ZONAL HYPOTHESIS AND ITS CRITICS*

JAMES A. QUINN
University of Cincinnati

APPROXIMATELY fifteen years ago, E. W. Burgess startled the sociological world by proposing the hypothesis that cities naturally become organized into five concentric circular zones: 1. the Central Business District; 2. the Zone in Transition; 3. the Zone of Workingmen's Homes; 4. the Zone of Better Residences; and 5. the Commuters' Zone.¹ Since it was first proposed, this hypothesis has been both widely approved and severely criticized by sociologists. It has been declared valid by some when applied to the cities of Chicago, Long Beach,² Montreal,³ and Rochester;⁴ and it has been accepted by many as a valuable frame of reference for interpreting a variety of urban data—crime, dance halls, delinquency, dependency, family organization and disorganization, gangs, hotels, mental disorders, population composition, religious institutions, suicides, and vice.⁵ In contrast with those who accept and approve the Burgess hypothesis, several sociologists have spurned it as worthless, and a few have branded it as false.⁶ This paper is a short critical review of the present status of this hypothesis.

The Significance of Observed Irregularities in Spatial Structure. The most widespread criticism of the Burgess zonal hypothesis arises from the fact that various cities do not actually conform to an ideal circular spatial pattern. Chicago, for example, fits more closely into a pattern of concentric semicircles than of complete circles, and even this semicircular pattern shows important irregularities. The zones of Montreal, as mapped by

* Presented to the American Sociological Society, at Philadelphia, December 29, 1939.

¹ Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project" *Publ. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 1923, 18: 85-97. See also Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess (eds.), *The City*, 47-62, Chicago, 1925. See also revised statement of this hypothesis in T. V. Smith and L. D. White (eds.), *Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research*, 113-138, Chicago, 1929.

² Elsa Longmoor and Erle F. Young, "Ecological Interrelationships of Juvenile Delinquency, Dependency, and Population Mobility: A Cartographic Analysis of Data from Long Beach, California." *Amer. J. Sociol.*, March 1936, 598-610.

³ Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys: *An Introduction to Sociology*, Revised edition, 129-156, New York, 1935.

⁴ Raymond V. Bowers: "The Ecological Patterning of Rochester, New York." *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, April 1939, 180-189.

⁵ Numerous studies especially by students of the University of Chicago. See, for example, Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas*; Ernest R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*; Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*; Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Suicide*; R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*.

⁶ Milla Aïssa Alihan, *Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis*, New York, 1938. Maurice R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth" in George Peter Murdock (ed.) *Studies in the Science of Society*, 133-161, New Haven, 1937.

Dawson and Gettys, take the form of irregular ovals and crescents. New Haven, as portrayed by Davie, exhibits great irregularities with no clearcut evidence of circular zones. In Long Beach, according to the map of Longmoor and Young, a circular pattern can be seen only with great difficulty, if at all. Maps of Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Minneapolis, New York, Pittsburgh, Seattle, St. Louis, and other cities all indicate unique characteristics of local spatial structure. No one can deny, therefore, that local irregularities frequently violate the pattern of geometrically accurate concentric zones. On the other hand, numerous observations show decided tendencies for most American cities to conform roughly to the essential pattern described by Burgess. Commonsense observations indicate that a retail business district constitutes the center of a city; that deteriorated areas develop near this business area; that, in general, poor homes are located closer to the business center and that better homes are situated farther out. Studies of urban gradients indicate the probability of a concentric urban structure centered around the dominant retail area. Maps which show the distribution of social data in Chicago, Rochester, and Long Beach give considerable support to the Burgess point of view. One concludes, therefore, that observed facts relative to urban structure appear to be divided; on the surface at least, some facts tend to deny the Burgess hypothesis while others tend to support it.

Burgess and his supporters readily admit the existence of numerous irregularities of spatial structure but explain them as resulting from the action of distorting factors. These scholars defend the validity and the value of the circular zonal hypothesis in urban studies regardless of the number and severity of distortions that occur.

The critical student will probably distinguish between two types of criticisms that have been raised against the Burgess hypothesis on the basis of local irregularities. The first type of criticism flatly contradicts the hypothesis and declares that no ideal pattern exists. The second type of criticism declares that the existence of severe distortions destroys the value of the hypothesis even though the tendency toward a theoretical ideal pattern may be admitted. These two types of criticism should not be mistaken for one another. The validity of the first type of criticism constitutes the central problem of this paper. The second criticism, which does not seem valid, will be examined briefly in the following paragraph.

If a definite tendency toward an ideal zonal structure always exists, then this fact becomes essential to adequate explanation of the spatial structure of any individual city. Even though local conditions of topography, streets, and transportation undoubtedly play important parts in molding urban structure, the tendency to form zones—if such actually exists—constitutes an additional item necessary to complete explanation. Therefore, if a tendency toward an ideal zonal structure exists, this ideal

pattern has validity and value regardless of the number and seriousness of distortions that modify it.

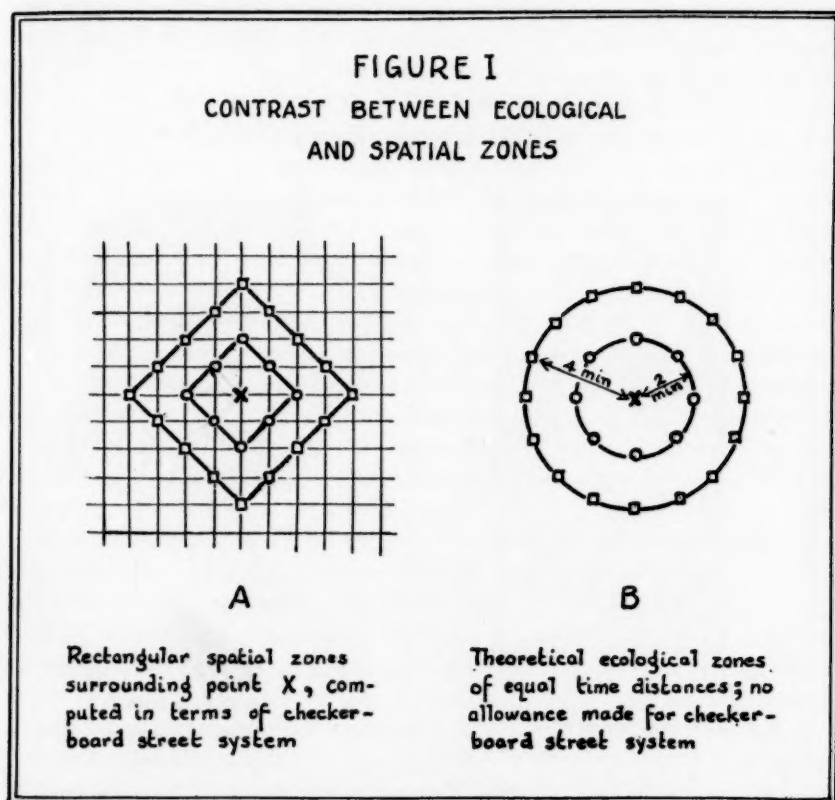
Ecological Time-cost Distance versus Spatial Linear Distance. Considerable confusion concerning the existence of concentric circular ecological zones has resulted from the failure to distinguish clearly between ecological distance and simple linear distance. Ecological distance should be measured, according to McKenzie,⁷ in terms of time and cost, in contrast with linear distance which is measured by feet, miles, or meters. Both proponents and opponents of the Burgess zonal hypothesis have fallen into the error of neglecting this distinction. The following examples may show how this point has led to confusion in testing the hypothesis. No adequate formula has been devised for combining time and cost into a single measure of ecological distance. For the purpose of simplicity, only the time aspect of ecological distance has been used in the following discussion.

The article, cited above, by M. R. Davie, entitled "The Pattern of Urban Growth," may be given as an example of the failure to distinguish between ecological distance and linear distance in studying urban structure. This article has especial significance in that it claims to be the first concrete test of the validity of the Burgess hypothesis. Davie drew geometric spatially-circular concentric zones with radii measured by half-mile units. He found that these geometric spatial zones each contained a wide variety of data. They cut across cultural and functional boundaries in such ways that no correspondence between circular zones and natural areas could be found. In no part of his study, however, did Davie attempt to delimit time-cost ecological zones and use them in testing the Burgess hypothesis. His study does not, therefore, apply the crucial test which adequate ecological research demands. In fact, no study known to the present author has made this important test.

One specific point raised by Davie may be examined more closely. This author declares that the Central Business Districts of various cities tend actually to be either irregular or rectangular in shape; and he regards these observed facts as contradictions of the theory of circular zones. A rectangular or an irregular *spatial* pattern does not, however, deny the existence of *ecologically* circular zones. If, for example, a checkerboard street system prevails in the heart of the city, and if transportation is equally easy along every street, the rectangular spatial pattern may actually conform to a circular time-cost pattern as indicated in the accompanying chart. (See Figure I-A and I-B.) In Figure I-A, for example, all points marked with a circle are two blocks distant, along existing streets, from point X, and all points marked with a square are four blocks from it. It should be noted that a line connecting all of the circles encloses a rectangle, and that the same is true of a line connecting all of the squares. These rectangular areas

⁷ R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," *Publ. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 1926, 144.

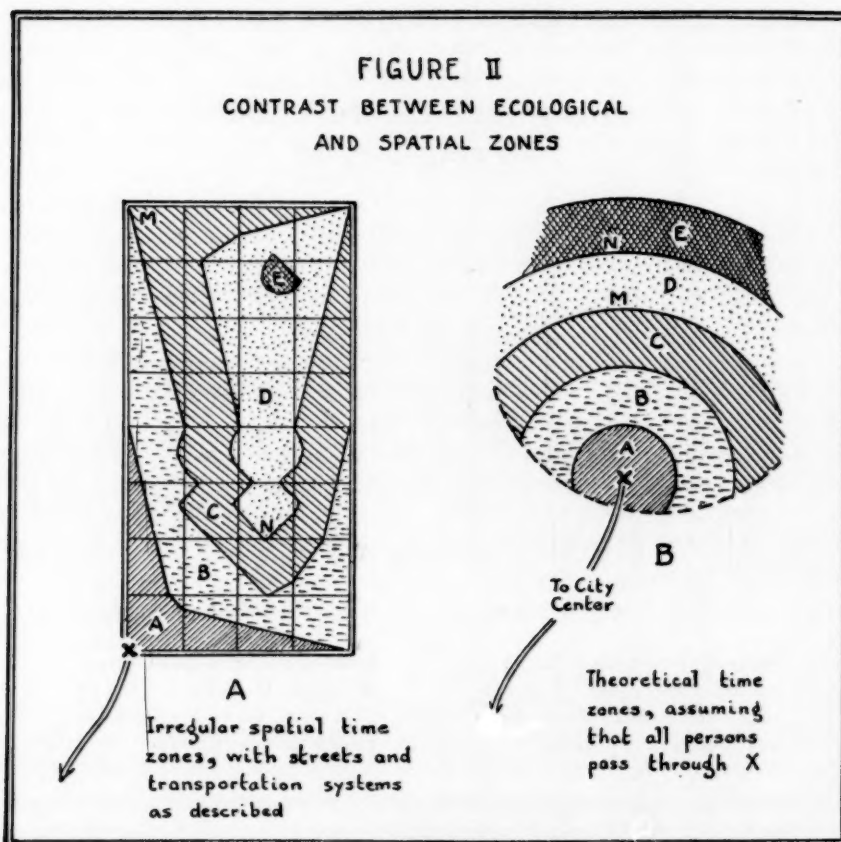
correspond to certain of the spatial patterns observed by Davie. Now assume that one minute is required to traverse one block. All points marked with a circle are two minutes from the city center, and all points marked with a square are four minutes from it. The theoretical time-distance chart, drawn with radii of two and four minutes respectively, appears in Figure I-B. This chart conforms to the Burgess theory of circular ecological zones.



Therefore, it appears that a *rectangular spatial* structure may be entirely consistent with a *circular ecological* (time-cost) structure. Similarly, with transportation of varying speeds along different streets, the spatial pattern may become starshaped or highly irregular without violating the ideal pattern of concentric time-cost zones. When carefully analyzed, therefore, Davie's observations of the Central Business District tend to support, or at least not to deny, the Burgess zonal hypothesis. This argument should cause no confusion to the sociologist who is familiar with the concept social distance. Obviously, social distance cannot be measured in terms of linear

units. Similarly, no confusion need result from the fact that ecological distance cannot be measured in terms of feet or miles.

The preceding discussion indicates that the spatial structure of an area, which can be plotted directly upon spatial maps, does not necessarily conform to ecological structure. In fact the two are seldom, if ever, identical. No one can observe ecological structure directly as a phenomenon of simple



spatial distribution. Ecological structure can be discovered only through abstraction in terms of time-cost ecological distance. Ecological structure serves only as one among several means of analyzing and interpreting spatial structure.

A simplified example may help to make clear the difference between the spatial and the ecological aspects of local structure. (See Figure II-A and II-B) The area in question is located atop a flat hill, approximately two miles from the city center. No public transportation lines run directly

through the heart of this district, but trolley lines, which pass through point X, run in both directions in a loop around its outskirts. It has been assumed for the present analysis that trolley cars run at the rate of four blocks per minute and that persons can walk one block per minute. Time lost in waiting has not been taken into account. The checkerboard street pattern of the area approximates that shown in the simplified chart. When calculated upon the basis of the existing routes and speed of transportation, the irregularly shaped areas that can be reached within respective time spans may be seen in Figure II-A. In this chart, point M, according to ecological time-cost distance, is one minute closer to the city center than point N, although the latter is spatially much nearer. When reduced to an ecological time-cost pattern radiating from point X, the zones of this area appear as an ideal circular pattern as in Figure II-B. After allowing for distorting factors not shown in this simplified presentation, the investigator finds that types of residential structures correspond approximately to the time zones. Zones A and B contain older and more intensively used buildings; Zone C contains better residences, many of which are of the two-family type; whereas the best single family residences appear mainly in Zone D.

When the idealized ecological time-cost zones are drawn with minute-radii extending from point X, the apparently irregular spatial pattern of this area actually conforms somewhat closely to the expectations of the Burgess hypothesis. Progressively better housing appears as one moves outward from point X along time-cost radii to the less accessible parts of the area.

Heavy Industry and the Circular Pattern. Davie raises one apparently valid criticism against the pattern of *circular* urban zones. This criticism is based upon the contention that heavy industry should be counted as a normal part of urban organization rather than as an abnormal distorting factor. The Burgess pattern of zones was drawn primarily in terms of commerce, residence, and light industry. Heavy industry was omitted from the original Burgess chart of urban areas and has been treated by his followers only as a distorting factor in explaining the so-called ecological distribution of social data in Chicago. Since, however, the Burgess hypothesis presumably applies to modern American commercial-industrial cities, Davie appears correct in insisting that heavy industry should be treated as a part of normal urban structure.

The inclusion of heavy industry as part of the ideal pattern of city structure will require, theoretically at least, some reformulation of the Burgess hypothesis for industry as well as the central business district constitutes a functional point of dominance for a portion of the population. Concentric circular zones apply accurately only to a city organized around a single point of dominance. When two or more distinct areas of dominance—commercial and industrial—apply to any considerable portion of the popula-

tion, a simple concentric circular pattern no longer represents the ideal organization. Therefore, the Burgess hypothesis will require some reformulation.

The Importance of Historical Inertia. Burgess has failed to emphasize sufficiently one important distorting factor in the ecological structure of the city—a factor which for want of a better term has been called historical inertia. The spatial and ecological structure of a city at any given time depends upon its past history. Buildings, streets, and railroads cannot easily be moved. Even a culture area that has gained a foothold may cling tenaciously to its old location. Therefore, functions which were located in conformity with ecological principles when the city was smaller appear to be seriously misplaced after the city has grown. Isochronal (i.e., equal-time) zones change their spatial limits with changes in transportation. Therefore, a function which originally located fifteen minutes from the heart of the city may later be only five minutes away from it although it has undergone no change of purely spatial position. The combination of these two sets of facts, (1) the relative immobility of various functions and (2) the changing spatial limits of isochronal zones, results in serious distortions of the ecological structure of a growing city.

The preceding paragraph implies that adequate testing of the zonal hypothesis will necessitate the construction of a series of time-cost maps for various periods of urban growth. The location of any function in a given part of the city will need to be tested in terms of the isochronal map of the period when that site was chosen.

Zones as Natural Areas versus Zones as Abstractions. Burgess implies, even if he does not explicitly declare, that zones are natural areas characterized by definite combinations of ecological and social criteria—function, building type, population composition, mobility, land value, and indices of personal and social disorganization. Underlying some of the obvious diversities of cultural and social phenomena, persisting combinations of criteria presumably exist which characterize these various zones. R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham (see Footnote 5) declare that zones retain these same essential characteristics even through several changes of population type. The Burgess hypothesis seems to assume, therefore, that zones possess, in some significant measure at least, the qualities of distinctive natural areas.

Implied in many studies of urban zones is the notion that ecological and social phenomena are so closely linked that the former may serve as indices of the latter. This notion, developed at some length by Park,⁸ underlies most of the studies which have attempted to interpret spatial distribution of marriages, divorces, gangs, suicides, or delinquencies in terms of an eco-

⁸ Robert E. Park, "Sociology" in Wilson P. Gee (ed.), *Research in the Social Sciences*, 3-33, New York, 1929.

ological frame of reference. This close connection between ecological and social phenomena has never been demonstrated through concrete investigations and analyses. Until this relationship has been clearly demonstrated, spatial studies of social phenomena cannot be used either to prove or to disprove the existence of ecological zones. It should be pointed out, however, that the validity of the zonal hypothesis depends in no way upon the existence of any close relation between ecological and social phenomena.

Alihan (Footnote 6 above) sharply attacks the notion that zones are natural areas. Her arguments follow two main lines: (1) that radial gradients—which involve gradual increases or decreases of phenomena as one moves away from the center of dominance—make impossible the conception of zones demarcated by sharp breaks in criteria; and (2) that different criteria show different distributions so that no single set of zones can be drawn to include all of them. Alihan's arguments have both merits and weaknesses.

The contention by Alihan that a gradual gradient makes impossible the existence of zones does not seem valid. In the field of physics, for example, the gradual change in the length of light rays throughout a rainbow spectrum may be taken as an example of a gradient. Nevertheless, distinct zones of red, yellow, and blue appear in the rainbow even though no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between them. It seems possible, therefore, for distinct zones to appear even where gradients unquestionably exist.

Alihan's second argument deserves careful checking. She points out that the zones drawn by persons studying domestic organization do not have boundaries identical with those drawn by persons investigating delinquency or mental disorders. Unless the basic criteria used in characterizing zones show essentially similar distributions, she declares that a single set of natural-area zones cannot be drawn. Before rejecting the possibility of valid natural-area zones, however, the careful student will remember the experiences of Galpin in delimiting rural communities even though he used criteria which showed varying spatial spreads. If the significant criteria cannot be correlated so as to delimit a single set of natural-area zones, then a zone becomes only an abstraction drawn in terms of a single criterion or a limited set of closely related criteria. Existing studies do not clearly settle this point raised by Alihan. Further research is needed which (1) carefully describes the significant ecological criteria to be used and (2) determines whether they can be correlated to delimit natural-area ecological zones.

Present Status of the Zonal Hypothesis. Probably every sociologist will agree that geometrically accurate circular zones do not occur as concrete spatial patterns of cities. This fact does not deny, however, the validity of the zonal hypothesis. On the contrary, available evidence indicates the probable existence of a significant tendency toward the formation of con-

centric ecological time-cost zones. These ecological zones ideally take circular form only in unicentered cities; they assume, logically at least, noncircular shapes in dual-centered or multicentered urban communities. At present, therefore, although the Burgess zonal hypothesis has been neither clearly proved nor disproved, it appears to possess sufficient merit to warrant the extensive research necessary for its careful testing.

Requirements for Testing the Burgess Zonal Hypothesis. An adequate research program for testing the Burgess zonal hypothesis in any given city involves at least the following items:

1. Thorough knowledge of existing topography and of those historical modifications of topography that have affected the growth of the city;
2. An adequate series of isochronal maps drawn in terms of changes in the street and transportation systems of the city; these maps should show the time-cost zones of the city at various periods of its historical growth;
3. The development and precision of adequate sets of ecological criteria for characterizing zones;
4. Adequate knowledge of the composition and distribution of local population;
5. Adequate knowledge of existing buildings—functional types, repair, capacity;
6. Detailed knowledge of existing spatial distribution of all significant personal and social data;
7. Knowledge of important cultural items (1) which influence standards of living of different classes of the population, (2) which lead to concentrations of persons of distinctive cultural types, and (3) which give areas their traditional reputations thereby lessening mobility and increasing historical inertia;
8. The formulation of alternative hypotheses—possibly including noncircular zonal patterns, patterns which involve either more or less than five zones, or various nonzonal patterns of ecological structure.

Only when these items have been taken into account can an adequate test of the Burgess zonal hypothesis or any other ecological hypotheses of urban structure be made.

PATTERNS OF DIFFUSION IN THE UNITED STATES

EDGAR C. McVOY

University of Minnesota

MOST OF THE hypotheses concerning diffusion of culture have been developed by use of archaeological data and by studies of primitive tribes. Wissler¹ and Linton² give fairly comprehensive statements of these hypotheses. Only a few studies have been made applying the hypotheses of the anthropologists to present-day "civilized" society. Of those done in the United States, perhaps those of the following authors are outstanding: Rice,³ who found that attitudes of political radicalism were most intense at certain centers and that they graded off from these centers, their intensity being modified by state boundaries, trade areas, type of farming, and other factors; Willey and Rice,⁴ who demonstrated the importance of communication and transportation agencies in diffusion and showed the influence of wealth, race, urbanization, and other factors on the spread of such an artifact as the radio; Bowers,⁵ who traced diffusion of amateur radio transmitters from the coasts inland and from larger to smaller urban centers; and Pemberton,⁶ who found consistent "gradients" from large cities outward, in percent of families with radio receiving sets.

It will be noted that all of these studies, with the exception of that made by Rice, deal with so-called material culture traits. The present author was more interested in nonmaterial culture traits, or social inventions. He wished to test these hypotheses relative to diffusion of social inventions:

1. That inventions arise at certain centers within a culture area and spread by degrees to the periphery of the area—the so-called "concentric circle" or "ripple-in-stream" pattern of diffusion;

2. That this concentric spread is modified by density of population, urbanization, transportation and communication facilities, wealth, and education, among other factors;

3. That diffusion takes place in a cyclical pattern, both temporally and spatially. The periods in this cyclical pattern, as worked out by Chapin,⁷ are: first, slow growth and resistance to innovation; second, rapid growth and experimentation; third, diminished growth, consolidation and simplification of structure. Linton's stages of presentation, acceptance, and integration⁸ correspond closely to Chapin's.

¹ Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, chapters 7, 8, and 9, New York, 1923.

² Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, chap. 19, New York, 1936.

³ S. A. Rice, *Quantitative Methods in Politics*, New York, 1928.

⁴ M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice, *Communication Agencies and Social Life*, New York, 1933.

⁵ R. V. Bowers, *A Genetic Study of Institutional Growth and Cultural Diffusion in Contemporary American Civilization*, unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Minn., 1934.

⁶ H. E. Pemberton, "Culture-Diffusion Gradients," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Sept. 1936, 226-233.

⁷ F. S. Chapin, *Cultural Change*, 226-229, New York, 1928.

⁸ Linton, *op. cit.*, 345, 346.

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Several laws and practices adopted by various states, which were capable of quantitative treatment with respect to time adopted or to quantity within the state, or both, were selected as indices of social innovation or progressivism. Originally, 9 items were used, and each state was given an index number of from 0 to 5 on each item.

Since the index for City Manager Plan was rather complex, it will be described in some detail. The first plan appeared in Staunton, Va., in 1908. Since then, about 400 American cities have adopted this plan.⁹ In computing the index, credit was given both for earliness of adoption and for number of city managers in each state. For each City Manager Plan adopted before 1915, 6 points were given; this number was reduced one point for each subsequent 5-year period. Thus, the states obtained numbers from 0 to 160, depending on quantity and age of plans within each. These numbers were adapted to the 0 to 5 scale as follows: 0, 0; 1-29, 1; 30-59, 2; 60-89, 3; 90-119, 4; 120 and above, 5. See Map 3 for a graphic plotting of cities in the United States having City Manager Plan. Table 1 shows the key to the index numbers for the other 8 items.

TABLE 1. KEY TO INDEX NUMBERS IN RANK OF STATES ON PROGRESSIVISM*

Date of Adoption	Index Number	Date of Adoption	Index Number
Probation or Juvenile Court Law		Civil Service in Dept. of Labor	
before 1900	4	1883-1899	5
1900-1904	3	1900-1906	4
1905-1909	2	1907-1912	3
1910 and later	1	1913-1919	2
no law, 1930	0	1920-1930	1
		no law, 1931	0
Vocational Rehabilitation		Workman's Compensation	
1919	4	1911	4
1920	3	1912-1914	3
1921	2	1915-1918	2
1922-1929	1	1919-1929	1
no law, 1931	0	no law, 1931	0
Old Age Pensions		Woman Suffrage	
1923	4	1869-1870	4
1925-1927	3	1890-1899	3
1929-1930	2	1910-1914	2
no law, 1931	0	1915-1919	1
		1920	0

* Two other indices of progressivism were used and weighted according to the qualifications of the laws. These were: 1, Minimum Age for Children Working in Factories and Stores; and 2, Working Hours for Women. Both of these items were taken as of 1931, the data being those given in the work of C. O. Paullin, cited above, plates 126-132. This is also the source for the other items in the Table.

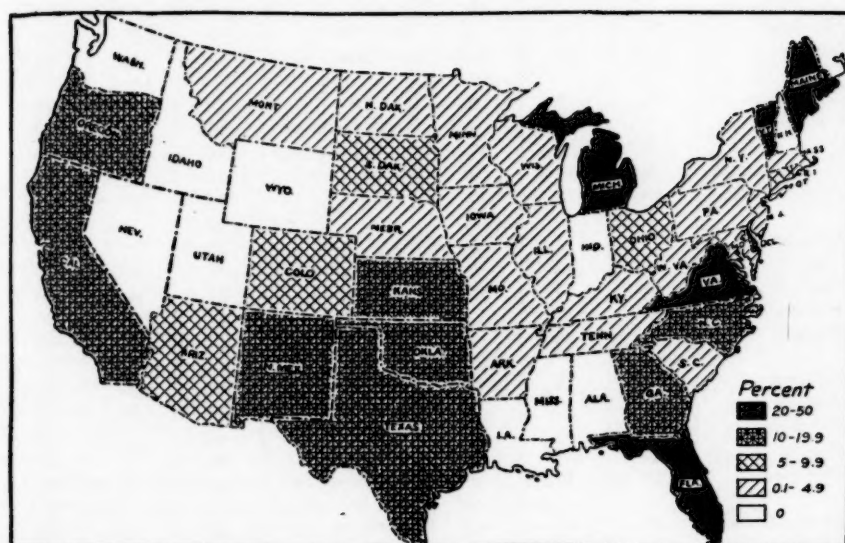
1. Minimum Age for Children, 16, was weighted 3; 15, 2; 14, 1; no age, 0.

2. Maximum Hours for Women, 48-50, 3; 54-60, 2; 60-70, 1; no limit, 0.

⁹ Municipal Yearbook, 385-393, Chicago, 1938.

After assigning weights, the author combined the 9 indices and ranked the states on this combined index of progressivism (see Table 2, column 3). The weights were revised twice following the original assignment (see Table 2, columns 1 and 2). The first revision involved the addition of three indices, Commission Form of City Government,¹⁰ Co-education in State Universities,¹¹ and State Public Employment Services.¹² Weights were refined by ranking the states from 1 to 48 on each item, rather than using the 0 to 5 weights of the original study; for items which could not be ranked so precisely, weights of 10, 20, 30, 40, etc., were assigned, in order to give them values roughly comparable to the more precise rankings. Composite ranks of the states on this first revision are shown in column 1

MAP 1. PERCENT OF CITIES ABOVE 1000 POPULATION HAVING CITY MANAGER.



of Table 2. The second revision involved only two items. It was thought that a fairer basis for the index of City Manager Plan would be the percentage of cities within the state having the plan, rather than the absolute number, as in the original weighting. Table 3 gives the percentage for each state and Map 1 shows the percentage range within which each state falls. Correlation between the rank order of states by absolute number and age (as described above) with that by percentages is $+0.78$. Both rankings are given in Table 3. The other item revised was Minimum Age for Children; a slight error affecting a few of the states on this item was corrected.

¹⁰ Chapin, *op. cit.*, 375

¹¹ J. H. McCracken, Editor, *American Universities and Colleges*, 10, 11, Baltimore, 1932.

¹² C. O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, plate 132, Washington, D. C., 1932.

That change in weights did not radically alter the relative ranks of the states on the composite indices is shown by correlations of the three columns of Table 2. Rank order correlations are: between cols. 1 and 3 (original weights and 1st rev.) $+ .85$; between cols. 1 and 2 (1st and 2d revs.) $+ .97$.

TABLE 2. RANK OF STATES ON INDICES OF PROGRESSIVISM

State	Rank on 12 Indices First Rev.	Rank on 12 Indices Sec. Rev.	Rank on 9 Indices Orig. Wghts.	State	Rank on 12 Indices First Rev.	Rank on 12 Indices Sec. Rev.	Rank on 9 Indices Orig. Wghts.
New York	1	3	2	North Dakota	26	26	35
Wisconsin	2	4	3	Connecticut	27	23	35
California	3	1	1	Georgia	28	29	35
Michigan	3	1	9	Tennessee	29	30	32
Illinois	5	6	11	Louisiana	30	34	43
Minnesota	6	8	9	Indiana	31	32	41
Colorado	7	6	4	North Carolina	32	34	17
Ohio	8	5	12	South Dakota	32	31	21
Massachusetts	9	11	4	Maine	34	25	35
Pennsylvania	10	14	21	Virginia	35	36	21
New Jersey	11	12	6	Maryland	36	37	27
Iowa	11	12	27	South Carolina	37	39	38
Utah	13	8	13	Washington	38	40	21
Kansas	14	10	13	Wyoming	38	33	27
Nevada	15	16	6	New Hampshire	40	41	27
Nebraska	16	18	27	New Mexico	41	38	32
Arizona	17	17	17	Vermont	42	42	38
Oklahoma	18	19	21	Alabama	43	45	41
Oregon	19	20	21	Arkansas	44	46	46
Montana	20	15	9	West Virginia	44	44	45
Rhode Island	21	21	17	Delaware	46	43	45
Missouri	22	27	38	Florida	46	47	41
Texas	23	21	17	Mississippi	48	48	48
Kentucky	24	23	32				
Idaho	24	27	32				

Map 2 gives a picture of the geographical distribution of the indices of column 2 of Table 2. It will be observed that the Great Lakes area and the Far West have the highest rankings of the various groups of states, with the Middle West in an intermediate position and the South and the upper New England States rating lowest. We might single out New York, Wisconsin, California, and Michigan as the centers of many social innovations in the United States, and we could trace rough gradients outward from these states. The concentric circle hypothesis seems to apply to the United States for nonmaterial traits, with certain modifications.

TABLE 3. RANK OF STATES ON CITIES HAVING CITY MANAGER PLAN

State	Percent Cities with C.M.	Rank on Percent C. Mgr. Cities	Rank on Number C. Mgr. Cities ¹	State	Percent Cities with C.M.	Rank on Percent C. Mgr. Cities	Rank on Number C. Mgr. Cities ¹
Maine	47.1	1	13	New York	3.5	26	12
Virginia	43.7	2	2	Wisconsin	3.5	26	21
Florida	33.6	3	3	Massachusetts	3.3	28	21
Vermont	23.5	4	18	Minnesota	3.0	29	16
Michigan	20.0	5	1	Maryland	2.5	30	27
Delaware	18.8	6	30	Montana	2.4	31	33
Oklahoma	17.4	7	6	New Jersey	2.4	31	24
New Mexico	14.8	8	19	North Dakota	2.4	31	36
California	13.8	9	5	Utah	1.8	34	31
North Carolina	11.9	10	8	Illinois	1.5	35	17
Georgia	11.0	11	10	Missouri	1.1	36	28
Kansas	10.9	12	43	Arkansas	0.9	37	35
Oregon	10.5	13	14	Nebraska	0.9	37	31
Texas	10.3	14	4	Alabama	0.0	43 ²	43 ²
Arizona	8.7	15	26	Idaho	0.0	43	43
Connecticut	7.5	16	27	Indiana	0.0	43	43
Colorado	7.2	17	15	Louisiana	0.0	43	43
Ohio	6.9	18	7	Mississippi	0.0	43	43
South Dakota	5.3	19	25	Nevada	0.0	43	43
Iowa	4.9	20	11	New Hampshire	0.0	43	43
West Virginia	4.9	20	33	Rhode Island	0.0	43	43
Kentucky	4.7	22	28	Washington	0.0	43	43
South Carolina	4.3	23	23	Wyoming	0.0	43	43
Tennessee	4.1	24	20				
Pennsylvania	3.7	25	9				

¹ See pages 220-221 above for description of basis of this ranking.

² Arbitrary ranking given states with no City Manager Plans.

An examination of the map and relationships found by Willey and Rice¹³ suggested certain factors which might be associated with progressivism as measured by the indices. Rank order correlations of progressivism with certain quantitative indices and a description of the indices, are:

Transportation and Communication Facilities, +.65. The states were ranked from 1 to 48 on three indices, number of automobiles per person,¹⁴ number of telephones per person,¹⁵ and number of radios per family;¹⁶ then a composite ranking on the three items was computed. With autos removed and a composite ranking on telephones and radios, progressivism correlated +.61.

¹³ Willey and Rice, *op. cit.*, 186-209.

¹⁴ Table MV-5, 1936 (Revised October 1937), *Motor Vehicle Registrations, 1905 to 1936*, U. S. D. A., Bur. of Public Roads.

¹⁵ U. S. Census of Electrical Industries: 1932. *Telephones*, Table 8.

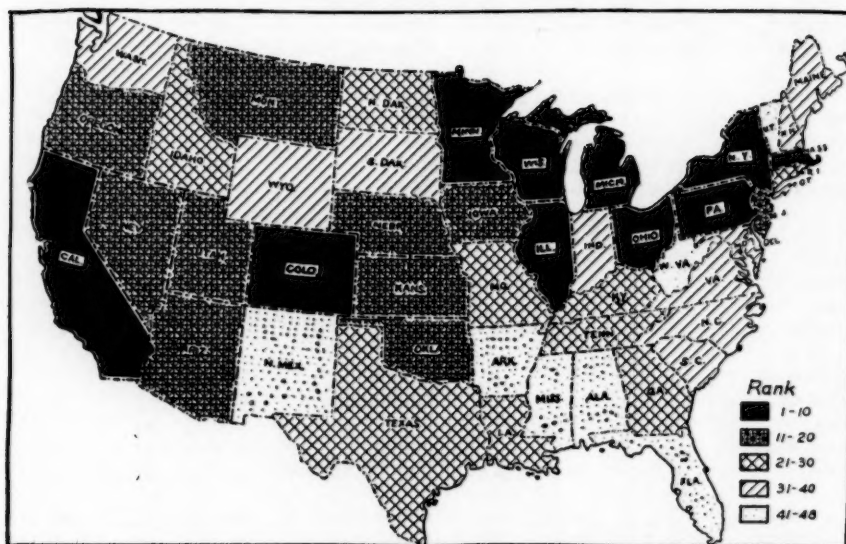
¹⁶ Willey and Rice, *op. cit.*, 188, 199. Table adapted from Census Reports.

Degree of Urbanization, +.57. The states were ranked on percent of total population which was urban in 1930.¹⁷

"Culture," +.70. Charles Angoff and H. L. Mencken¹⁸ made an elaborate ranking of states on educational facilities, public libraries, circulation of periodicals, and other indices of "culture," from which they developed a composite rating.

Wealth, +.65. This is another of Angoff and Mencken's composite indices.

MAP 2. RANK OF STATES ON PROGRESSIVISM.

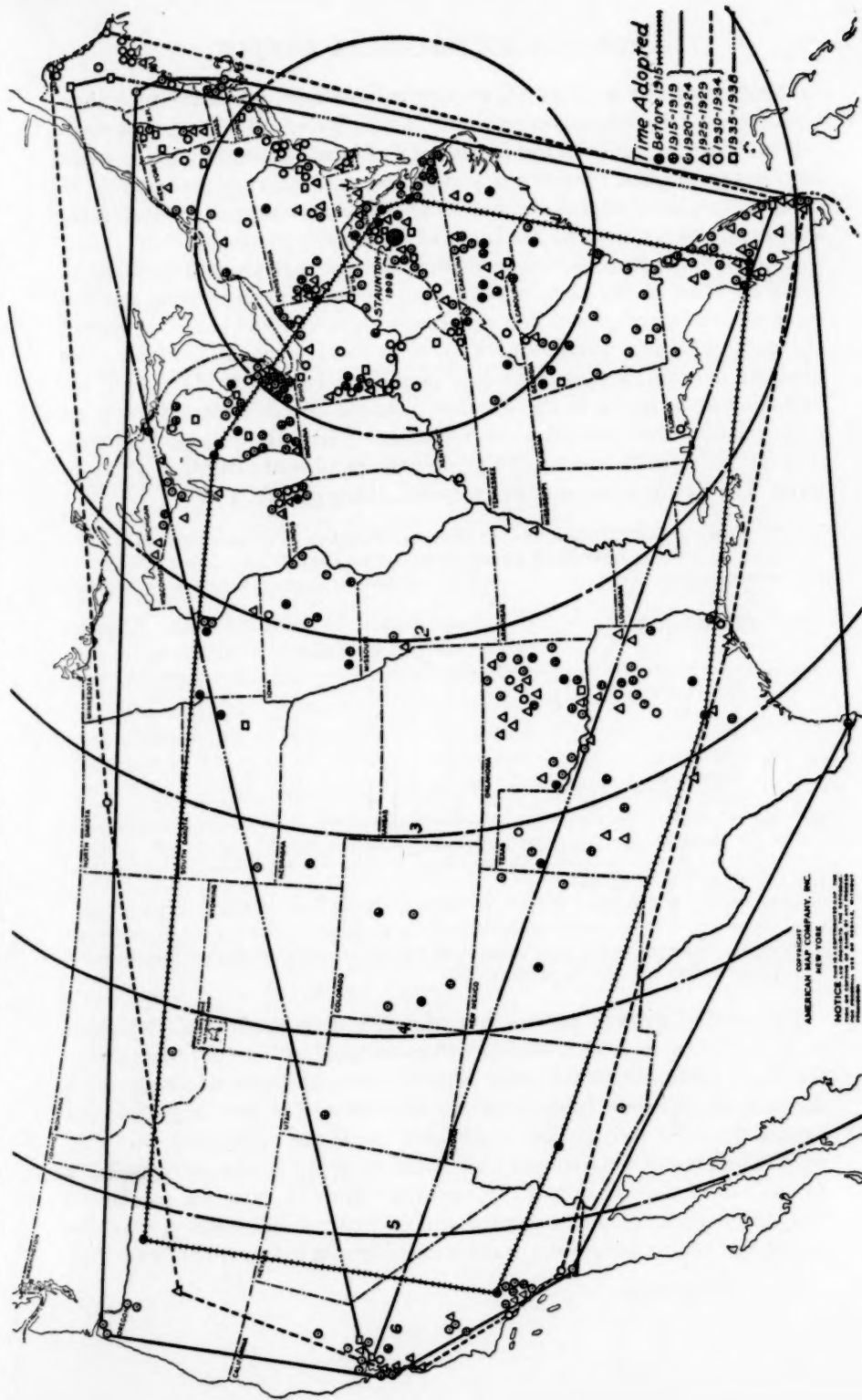


Substantial correlations were found with all these factors, particularly with educational and "cultural" indices. The consistency of these correlations suggests that there is a configuration of factors differentiating the states, and that any one might serve as a rough index of the whole configuration. Partial correlations would show which of the relationships hold. We might conclude the above factors modify diffusion patterns.

Several criticisms have been offered as to the methodological validity of this study. The fact that some of the indices were based on time, others on number (as in the case of City Manager Plans), and others on intensity (Minimum Age Laws) would tend to make doubtful their comparability. Furthermore, we are dealing with different periods of time for various indices and with uneven periods of "exposure" for the states. It is hardly fair to compare Oklahoma with Michigan on priority of coeducation in its state university, for Oklahoma was not a state at the time the University of Michigan became coeducational. It also will be noted that several of the

¹⁷ U. S. Census, 1930, *Population*, Vol. I, 15.

¹⁸ Charles Angoff and H. L. Mencken, "The Worst American State," *The American Mercury*, Sept., 1-16, Oct., 175-188, Nov., 355-371, 1931.



MAP 3. CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES HAVING CITY MANAGER.

laws and practices used as indices might have been necessary to correct pathological conditions in some states, which were not acute problems in others. When we consider the consistency of rankings on the various items for the top ten and bottom ten states, and that we merely are trying to show centers and patterns of diffusion for these non-material traits, regardless of why they exist, the method seems generally valid.

City Manager Plans were selected for intensive analysis of their diffusion. Each city having the plan in 1938 was plotted on a map, using symbols to show time of adoption. Zones were drawn in concentric circles around the point of origin (Staunton, Va.), with radii at equal intervals. The gradient hypothesis seemed to hold good here (the City Manager Plans becoming more sparse as the distance from the center increased), but another relationship appeared which was contrary to anthropological theories. The farther from the center, the greater the percent of early C.M.P. adoptions. The Pacific Coast was an exception. (Map 3; Tab. 4.)

TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF CITY MANAGER PLANS IN THE UNITED STATES BY DATE OF ADOPTION AND BY ZONES*

Date Adopted	Zone						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Before 1915	11	7	6	3	1	2	30
1915-1919	32	18	15	7	1	5	78
1920-1924	36	48	15	6	2	18	125
1925-1929	25	25	16	3	0	8	77
1930-1934	28	17	5	1	0	3	54
1935-1938	15	15	2	0	0	2	34
Totals	147	130	59	20	4	38	395
Ratio of plans after 1924 to those before and during 1924	.86	.78	.64	.25	0.0	.52	.70

* See Map 3 for position of these zones. Zone 1 is that immediately surrounding Staunton, Va., and the others follow it in concentric arcs.

The cyclical growth pattern hypothesis is illustrated here. Beginning in 1908, there were 30 City Manager Plans adopted before 1915; the number reached a maximum in the years 1920-24, when 125 were adopted; and it declined during each five-year period thereafter. The spatial pattern expanded from the early period to the later, but began to contract only after 1935. The growth pattern was also found to apply to the automobile, in an analysis of the diffusion of this material trait.¹⁹ In 1910, the automobile was just beginning to be accepted and in most of the states a very few people had them; there was a tremendous increase between 1910 and 1920,

¹⁹ See Note 14, supra.

and another large increase from 1920 to 1930, although the rate of increase had slackened off. Up to 1936, there was only a slight increase over 1930, so we may conclude that the third stage has been reached.

Another relationship was examined in studying the City Manager Plans, that between size of city and probability of having a City Manager. Political scientists have for some time pointed out that this plan is not likely to succeed in very large or very small cities. (Table 5).

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF U. S. CITIES HAVING CITY MANAGERS IN RELATION TO POPULATION

	Population of Cities (in thousands)						
	>100	25-100	10-25	5-10	2.5-5	1-2.5	<1
Percent having C.M. Plan	19.3	23.7	17.2	12.7	5.9	2.1	0.05
							2.6

Apparently there is a tendency for probability of having City Manager Plan to increase with size of city up to about 100,000 population and to decrease thereafter. If this same trend could be found for certain other traits, it might be possible to formulate a general "law" about relation of size of city to probability of acceptance of certain types of innovations.

From our findings, we may state the following general conclusions.

1. That many of the principles of diffusion developed by anthropologists from studies of primitive tribes apply to present-day United States.
2. That certain points within the United States serve as centers of innovation, and that these innovations tend to radiate, other things being equal, in concentric gradients around the centers. These centers are not the same for all traits, but there is usually a correlation between rank on one index of innovation and that on another, so that we can rank the states in order of general progressivism or social innovation.
3. Some of the factors which influence diffusion and tend to distort the concentric circle pattern are communication and transportation facilities, degree of urbanization, wealth, educational and "cultural" level.
4. At least two of the traits dealt with in this study (one material and one nonmaterial) spread according to a cyclical growth pattern, in which definite periods of expansion and contraction could be determined.

Offical Reports *and* Proceedings

HOW CAN THE PROGRAMS OF THE ANNUAL MEETINGS BE IMPROVED?

At the suggestion of the Executive Committee, President MacIver has appointed the undersigned as a Committee on Program, with a broad commission to study the organization, content, and method of conducting the programs of the annual meetings. For several years there has been considerable criticism of the annual meetings. Obviously, whatever the program, it will not meet the interests of all. With the regional societies developing strong programs, the program of the National Society must be challenging if it is to command attendance.

Therefore, we invite correspondence with any members of the society who have constructive suggestions for the improvement of the program, with regard to its content, meetings of sections or divisions, relation to programs of other societies, or regional societies, etc.

Please discuss this with your colleagues and send letters to the chairman or to any member of the Committee.

DWIGHT SANDERSON, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Chairman.
HOWARD BECKER, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
SHELBY HARRISON, Russell Sage Fndn., 130 E. 22d St., New York.
NORMAN S. HAYNER, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
J. O. HERTZLER, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.
ROBERT MERTON, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
SCOTT NEARING, Ridgewood, New Jersey.
DONALD YOUNG, 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

REPRESENTATIVES AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Social Science Research Council. Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago, 1940; William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, 1941; Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation, 1942.

American Council of Learned Societies. James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania, 1940; F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, 1942.

American Association for the Advancement of Science. George A. Lundberg, Bennington College.

Committee on the Joint Meeting of the Society with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Seattle, June 17-22. Jesse F. Steiner, University of Washington; George A. Lundberg, Bennington College; Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington; Forrest LaViolette, University of Washington; Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington.

American Library Association. Ernest L. Talbert, University of Cincinnati.

International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard University, Correspondent.

Research Planning Committee. Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University, Chairman, *ex-officio*; Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Secretary, *ex-officio*; George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, 1942; Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania, 1941; Stuart A. Rice, Central Statistical Board, Washington, D. C., 1940.

Representative to the American Documentation Institute. Mildred Parten, Washington, D. C.

Committee on Budget and Investment. Maurice R. Davie, Yale University, Chairman; Ralph C. Fletcher, Bureau of Social Research, Pittsburgh; Ruby J. Reeves, Texas State College for Women, Denton, Texas; Irwin T. Sanders, Alabama College, Montevallo, Alabama; E. D. Tetreau, University of Arizona; Herbert Lamson, University of Maine; Seldon C. Menefee, W.P.A., Bureau of Research, Washington, D. C.

Representatives to Council of Human Relations of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. O. T. Duncan, Oklahoma A. and M. College; J. L. Hypes, State College, Storrs, Connecticut.

Committee on Nominations. C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, Chairman; R. C. Angell, University of Michigan; Arthur L. Beeley, University of Utah; H. C. Brearley, Peabody College; V. E. Daniel, Wiley College; Mildred Fairchild, Bryn Mawr College; Mrs. Helen Garvey, Stephens College; Frank Goodwin, Washington College; Clyde Hart, University of Iowa; Abbott Herman, Hillsdale College; Dorothy Krall, Yale University; Francis E. Merrill, Dartmouth College; George P. Murdock, Yale University; Wayne Neely, Hood College; M. H. Neumeier, University of Southern California; Elizabeth Nottingham, Wheaton College; J. A. Rademaker, Bates College; T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University.

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Committee on Honorary Members. Earle E. Eubank, University of Cincinnati, Chairman; Carl A. Dawson, McGill University; Noel P. Gist, University of Missouri; Joseph Mayer, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Committee on Resolutions. To be appointed.

Committee on Organization. James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman; L. V. Ballard, Beloit College; E. S. Bogardus, University of Southern California; C. A. Dawson, McGill University; M. C. Elmer, University of Pittsburgh; W. E. Gettys, University of Texas; Howard Odum, University of North Carolina; E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa; Stuart A. Rice, Central Statistical Board, Washington D. C.; Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University; C. C. Taylor, Washington, D. C.; C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia; Ellen Winston, Washington, D. C.; Howard Woolston, University of Washington; L. D. Zeleny, St. Cloud Teachers College; C. C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.

Delegates to the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Robert L. Sutherland, Bucknell University; James W. Woodard, Temple University.

Committee on Local Arrangements. Louis Wirth, University of Chicago, Chairman; Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago.

Committee on Secretaries of Regional Sociological Societies. Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Chairman, *ex-officio*.

Committee on Public Relations. Alfred M. Lee, New York University, Chairman; Read Bain, Miami University, *ex-officio*; Stanley H. Chapman, Yale University; Noel Gist, University of Missouri; Elizabeth Briant Lee, South Norwalk, Connecticut; Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University, *ex-officio*; Robert E. Park, University of Chicago; Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, *ex-officio*; Malcolm M. Willey, University of Minnesota.

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Division on Social Research. Raymond V. Bowers, University of Rochester, Chairman.

Division on Human Ecology. Robert E. L. Farris, McGill University, Chairman.

Division on Social Biology. Norman E. Himes, Colgate University, Chairman.

Section on the Family. Meyer F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University, Chairman.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. No appointment to be made this year.

Section on Sociology and Psychiatry. J. L. Moreno, Beacon Hill Sanitarium, Chairman.

Section on Social Statistics. Clark Tibbitts, University of Michigan, Chairman.

Section on Educational Sociology. Francis J. Brown, New York University, President; Edmund deS. Brunner, Columbia University, Vice-President.

Section on Sociology and Religion. Murray Leiffer, Garrett Biblical Institute, Chairman; Arthur H. Swift, Jr., Union Theological Seminary, Vice-Chairman.

Section on Political Sociology. Herbert A. Miller, Bryn Mawr College, Chairman; C. J. Bushnell, University of Toledo, Secretary.

Section on Criminology. Nathaniel Cantor, University of Buffalo, Chairman.

Section on Community. Robert Polson, Cornell University, Chairman.

Section on Sociology of Social Problems. Richard C. Fuller, University of Michigan.

DISCUSSION OF THE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE REPORT

This is the first and, so far, the only discussion presented. It is somewhat longer than it seems desirable to print but we felt an exception should be made in this case. The general principles governing communications on this subject are set forth in one of the editorial notes of this issue of the *Review*. It is hoped that a considerable number of concise, pointed articles dealing pro and con with all the main advantages and disadvantages of the proposed reorganization of the Society can be printed in the next four issues of the *Review*.—R. B.

Two main positive advantages are claimed for classification of membership: first it would inspire younger scholars to become Fellows and thus motivate scholarship; second, it would help to make the Society a more distinctly professional organization. A brief analysis of these two claims follows.

1. This is a rather crude motivational device. The attainment of the first and third proposed qualifications for Fellows is relatively automatic and there are already strong pressures to attain them. Thus, the second qualification, publication, seems to be the crucial one. Here again many pressures already exist. Most of the younger scholars in the Society would strive for this qualification without the added "incentive" of special status; a person who needs this type of "incentive" is a poor scholar indeed. Of course, I am in hearty sympathy with the ultimate objective, scientific contributions through publication, but this proposal is ineffective as a device for its attainment.

2. I definitely favor the second objective, but seriously question whether the proposal would do much to attain it. The most important statement in this connection reads: "Members shall have all privileges of Fellows excepting holding elective offices and voting on constitutional changes." It is very doubtful if anyone will hold elective office without these qualifications. Few have done so in the past and probably would not in the future even under our present organization. It is also doubtful that this provision was inspired by actual dissatisfaction with the qualifications of the present leadership of the Society. If this were the case, we could remedy it by electing better leaders. Certainly, the Society does not need the indirect device of classifying membership in order to improve its leadership. The last clause merely perpetuates the plan and therefore needs no discussion.

The other actual change in organization relates to dues of Fellows, which become \$10 per year. It amounts only to an enforced sale of "other regular publications of the Society" to Fellows. As in the case of all enforced sales, a penalty is imposed. In this case, it falls on all Fellows for whom these "other" publications (what are

they?) might not represent the most rational allocation of their professional funds. Thus, the intrinsic changes in the organization of the Society are minor, and for some Fellows, might become a positive nuisance. I see no reason to think they would improve professional standards.

However, another line of argument is conceivable. Professionalism always relates to values and standards, and symbolism has an important role in these respects. It might be argued that the symbolic distinction of status would itself help to achieve higher professional standards. All professional organizations involve status distinctions relative to outside groups. In addition, an internal stratification exists, formally in terms of office holding, informally in terms of age, general prestige, personal influence, wire-pulling, etc. Thus, would an increase in the formal symbolic distinctions of status achieve the end in view? For outsiders, the answer is certainly "No." The members themselves are not in complete agreement on what the symbolism actually symbolizes. For the membership, an inner ingroup of Fellows might come to think of themselves as "ultraprofessional." That such an attitude would improve professional performance is highly questionable.

Another possible objective of classification might be to improve meetings and discussions by having smaller and more highly selected groups, but obviously the proposals under consideration make no provisions for attaining this objective, and consequently an analysis of it would be irrelevant. If this is desirable it certainly can be done under the present organization, and as a matter of fact is being done in several instances.

In addition to the above lack of advantages, there are several possible disadvantages, some of which were discussed at Philadelphia. The claim that the proposal would lead to invidious distinctions is probably exaggerated but does contain some truth. In addition, the proposal would further complicate the problem of placement within the profession. It would set up new and useless routines and thus complicate the intrinsic organization of the Society (creation of a Fellowship Committee, elections to this Committee, mail ballots to all the Fellows, etc.). The Society already has a Membership Committee. If professional standards need to be raised, this Committee could do it without the necessity of categorizing members.

RICHARD HAYS WILLIAMS, *University of Buffalo*

CENSUS OF MEMBERSHIP

At the last annual meeting, the Secretary was ordered to make a census of the membership. Blanks have been sent to all members. If anyone was missed, he should request a blank at once.

It is especially important that the professional career be given in some detail, especially research public service and publications. If the card is too small, use additional ones, of same size, on both sides, or ordinary letter paper.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Permission to Quote. The Editorial Board, at its meeting in Philadelphia, December 27, 1939, decided that any member of the Society who is engaged in scholarly work may quote any material published in the *Review*, up to 500 words, without asking permission of the editor. Since all material in the *Review* is copyrighted, it is the property of the Society and its agent, which I presume is the Editorial Board, has the legal right to grant or withhold such permission. While, to my knowledge, no formal delegation by the Board has been made, the editor has always passed upon such requests.

It was generally agreed by the Board that this ruling does not relieve those who want to quote an author's work more extensively than seems to be covered by the copyright law discussed below, from the common courtesy of asking the author's permission. Certainly, it is my own opinion that the Board should never deny an author the right to use any of his material published in the *Review* in any way he sees fit. Although the Society undoubtedly has legal ownership of all material copyrighted by it, it appears to me that the "moral ownership," to coin a term, still remains with the author, particularly since he receives no remuneration for his contributions.

It was understood by the Board that any author who wants to reprint an entire article should get permission and that any use by others of entire articles or extensive excerpts in texts, readings, or in other ways that might profit the user, requires permission from both author and editor.

Copyright Practice. I have long been curious about the legal rights of scholars in using copyrighted material for scholarly purposes. The following form letter may throw some light upon this matter.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Copyright Office
Washington, D. C.

Dec. 28, 1939.
No. 20.

This Office is in receipt of your letter of December 16th, requesting information concerning the right of an author or publisher to use quotations, without special permission, from copyrighted works.

In reply, it is pointed out that the answer would depend in nearly every case upon the special facts and circumstances, and hence the courts have not attempted to lay down any hard and fast line of demarcation between the permitted use and the forbidden use of copyrighted works. It is to be observed, however, that the Copyright Act secures to the proprietor (among other things) the exclusive right to

"print, reprint, publish, copy and vend the copyrighted work." It also provides that the protection shall extend to "all the copyrightable component parts." This, of course, does not mean every particle of the work, but it does cover the work as a whole, and also any substantial and material part thereof. The information conveyed is not subject to copyright, but only the literary or artistic expression.

On the other hand, the courts have recognized that a copyrighted work is subject to "fair use," in the way of criticism and review, for example, and that it may be commented on and quoted without permission insofar as may be necessary to make the comments intelligible. It is not so much the quantity as it is the quality of the part taken that may be the important factor, including also the use to which it is put. One must use his own best judgment in such matters, obtaining where necessary the advice of legal counsel. If there is any doubt, the safe course always is to secure beforehand the consent of the author or proprietor for the contemplated use of his work.

Respectfully,
C. L. Bouvé
Register of Copyrights

My interpretation of the final paragraph of this letter is that anyone has a legal right to use quotations, even running to several hundred words, for scholarly purposes, if the work is duly cited, and it is evident that the user is not trying to make personal profit out of the author's or publisher's property, or to pass off as his own, work which is really that of another. Note that information and ideas are not protected by copyright.

Therefore, it seems evident that there is much needless bothering of authors and publishers in this matter by those of us who cite the literature extensively. Personally, I should not hesitate to quote any scholarly work for scholarly purposes in accordance with the principles stated in my preceding paragraph without asking anybody's permission. Of course, I should be very careful to give credit to the holder of the copyright. I believe the court rulings on "fair use" would cover a very large percentage of the quotations and citations used in scholarly works.

In connection with this editorial, Mr. Bouvé has called my particular attention to the statement of the Court in the case of West Publishing Co., vs. Thompson Co., 169 Fed. 833, 861:

There must be some copying to constitute infringement. . . . Even where there is some copying, that fact is not conclusive of infringement. Some copying is permitted. In addition to copying, it must be shown that this has been done to an unfair extent.

Student Subscriptions and New Members. Since the students of today are the sociologists of tomorrow, it is extremely important that all members should encourage students to take advantage of the student subscription rate of \$2.50. It is particularly desirable for graduate students to get in the habit of subscribing during their graduate work. I know how close-hauled the financial sails of many graduate students are, but it should be impressed

upon them that this is a \$2.50 which they can ill afford not to spend. If the members would really take this matter seriously, I believe 500 student subscriptions could be obtained.

And while we are talking about student subscriptions, let us not forget that there are probably 1000 people teaching sociology and doing what is substantially sociological research who are not members of the Society. I believe it is possible for us to get "2000 members by 1945"—and 3000 subscribers if we really work at it, but it is obvious that *members* are the people who can do most to achieve this goal. The officers can do something but in the last analysis their efforts will be largely fruitless unless the great mass of the members cooperate actively.

Committee on Organization. I believe it was understood in the last annual meeting that communications from members relative to this matter should be published in the *Review*. It seems highly desirable that this should be done. This is a very important step for the Society and should be thoroughly discussed before final action is taken. It is also desirable that some of this discussion should take place early so that those of contrary opinion will have a chance to reply. Letters from persons who are not actually members of the Society will not be printed.

We will publish such letters, not to exceed 600 words each, in the next four issues. Letters which deal with points which have already been printed will of course not be published. This is necessary, I think, since no consensus can be assumed because of the number of letters for or against a certain point. It might develop into a game like that of "influencing" congressmen by telegrams. Space would prohibit the publication of all communications. However, it is highly important that all definite pro and con ideas should be brought to the attention of the members. I shall turn over to the Committee on Organization all letters received up to October 20, 1940, when copy for the December issue goes to press. Letters written after that date should go directly to J. H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania, the Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

Editorial Board Meeting. A number of matters were discussed at the meeting held in Philadelphia. Mr. Woolston could not be present, but he sent a challenging and revolutionary communication. Mr. Woolston's proposals represent quite a departure from present practice and are therefore presented here in the hope that they may arouse some thought and possibly discussion. These proposals are obviously related in some ways to the plan for reorganization, although they could be incorporated in whole or in part in the publication of the *Review* under the present setup.

Mr. Woolston's proposals follow:

1. We should have a National Editorial Board (six), composed of an editor-in-chief and a representative of each of the regional sociological journals.

2. The editor-in-chief should be appointed for three to five years by the Executive Committee of the Society.

3. The editor-in-chief should appoint five or six able Assistants to cover important phases of the work—reviews, translations, advertising, exchanges, subscriptions, etc.

4. The staff should also select expert Advisers as counsel upon technical material; for example, statistics, social work, history and theory, social psychology, cultural anthropology, criminology, family, etc.

5. The *A.S.R.* should publish two to four substantial numbers each year, comprising—

a) A (March) *Year Book*, containing outstanding papers presented at the preceding annual meeting and/or elsewhere, together with discussion and critiques of these;

b) A (December) *Bulletin*, containing programs of the next ensuing meetings of National, Regional, and International conferences, together with epitomes of the leading papers to be presented;

c) A (June) *Digest* of important sociological books and articles appearing during the preceding year, together with a complete or selected list of cognate works in all languages;

d) A (September) *Feature Issue*, containing a group of requested articles by authorities upon an important subject of current interest.

6. Articles should not be confined to contributions by members, nor should they be limited to papers proffered by the authors.

If ours is to be an American review, it must include the best samples of sociological thought to be obtained anywhere, and not rest content with accepting items from provincial authorities. The *Review* should not compete with regional journals, but should direct, supplement, and integrate their discussions. If such policy is followed, there will be no complaints about cost and duplicate functions.

Mr. Becker's remarks were pertinent although not so revolutionary. He believes the library list should be extended. This is a matter upon which sociology teachers could be of the greatest help. Many libraries should take several copies. Our foreign library list should be greatly extended, and also our foreign subscription list, but probably not much can be done in this regard until the war is over. The *Review* should be indexed in *The Reader's Guide*. We are working on this now. He also suggested that we should get more student subscriptions. We are strenuously attempting to do this, but here again the cooperation of teachers is an indispensable factor.

Should there be a lower rate for members of regional societies? This is perhaps tied up with the plan for Reorganization of the Society.

Is it possible or desirable to try to work out club subscription rates with certain quality journals like *Harpers*, *The Atlantic*, *The Survey*, *The New Republic*, etc.?

The Board also discussed the matter of Special Issues without arriving at any definite decision. A number of routine matters relative to advertising, communications to the editor, book review policy, exchanges, relations of editor and assistant editors, were acted upon.

All members of the Board solicit suggestions from the members which may improve the quality of the *Review*. It is really your journal and we want to make it serve you and sociology in the best possible way.

Preparation and Disposition of Manuscripts. For the benefit of the newer members of the Society, and as a reminder to others, it is perhaps advisable to make a statement regarding publication procedure and policy.

When a paper is read at the annual meeting, it is understood that the *Review* has the first right to print, although it is under no obligation to do so. Therefore, no member should make any commitments on the publication of such papers, either before or after presentation at the annual meeting, without first getting the approval of the Editorial Board. Ordinarily, if it is professionally important for the member to publish such a paper elsewhere than in the *Review*, or to withhold it from publication for a time, this can be arranged. However, all members should realize that acceptance of an invitation to appear on the Official Program of the Society carries with it the moral obligation to publish said papers in the *Review*, if the Society so desires. Papers appearing on the program automatically go to the Editorial Board for acceptance or rejection. The chairmen of divisions and sections are responsible for turning over such papers to the editor.

The procedure in handling manuscripts is briefly as follows. Papers which the editor thinks the Board would undoubtedly accept or reject are handled by him, and the authors are notified at once of their disposition. Those about which, for any reason, the editor is in doubt are sent to the assistant editors, or to specialists in case there is no editor who appears to be especially competent to pass upon them. When some clear consensus appears in the opinion of the assistant and advisory editors, the paper is disposed of according to that consensus. In case considerable difference of opinion develops among members of the Board, it may require as long as two months to make final disposition. Whenever a paper is sent to the assistant editors, and when papers are accepted, the authors are notified by mail. The editor is careful not to indicate to the assistant editors whether he is favorably or unfavorably inclined toward any particular paper, except in rare instances, and then only by implication in calling the assistant editor's attention to some aspect of the paper, or by asking questions which require special consideration. This occurs in only a few cases, as a rule.

In the preparation of papers, authors should follow the general rules, particularly as to citations and table construction, which appear in the April 1938 *Review*.

If authors would follow these simple rules, it would save the editor many hours of labor and possibly many years of eyesight. It would also tend to conserve his present pleasant disposition. If they would observe the rule that all manuscripts should have correct postage on them, and return postage inclosed, it would save the Society considerable money.

CURRENT ITEMS

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MEETINGS.

Alpha Kappa Delta. The annual business meeting was held in the Hotel Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, December 29, 1939, with President L. L. Bernard presiding. Four new chapters were added during the year: Beta of Michigan, at Wayne University; Alpha of New Hampshire, at the University of New Hampshire; Beta of Washington, at the State College; Beta of Wisconsin at Marquette University. Ohio still leads all the states with five active chapters. There were about 1000 active members in 1939, distributed throughout the nation in 32 active chapters.

It was decided to offer a prize for the best graduate and undergraduate research paper presented during the year. Information about this contest will be found in the *Alpha Kappa Delta Quarterly* which has become quite an impressive looking publication.

A.K.D. is in excellent financial condition, has able and enthusiastic leaders, and seems to be destined to expand rapidly in the near future.—R. B.

The American Catholic Sociological Society held its second annual meeting at Chicago, December 27-29, 1939, inclusive, in the Morrison Hotel. Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City, was Honorary President; Raymond C. Murray, Notre Dame University, president; Ralph A. Gallagher, Loyola University (Chicago), secretary; Miriam L. Rooney, Mundelein College, treasurer; Clarence J. Wittler, Mundelein College, was chairman of the Chicago Reception Committee.

Thirty-two papers and two round-tables were included on the program. The papers were grouped under the following heads: socio-economic problems; personal adjustment; social research; sociology and social work; teaching—high school and college; the family; social theory; criminology; labor problems; rural sociology; sociology and social action; sociology and social origins. A student session was also held. Bishop O'Hara spoke on "The Cooperative Movement."

The new officers for 1940 are as follows: Bishop O'Hara will continue as Honorary President; Paul J. Mundie, Marquette University, president; Sister M. Ann Joachim, Siena Heights College, Adrian, Michigan, vice-president; Joseph Walsh, Loyola University (Chicago), treasurer; and as members of the executive council, Helena O'Neill, Rosemont College, Rosemont, Pa., Paul Hanly Furfey, Catholic University, Raymond C. Murray, Notre Dame University.

The American Council on Public Affairs is now concentrating its efforts upon the sponsorship, publication, promotion, and distribution of scholarly books, studies, and papers. Although especially interested in publications in the fields of political and social science, the Council gives consideration to material in related fields. In its choice of publications, the Council is concerned with authoritativeness, significance, responsibility of the author, and timeliness.

Among the members of the Council's National Board are: Harry Elmer Barnes, George F. Zook, Robert S. Lynd, Paul Kellogg, Clyde Miller, John Haynes Holmes, Walter West, William C. Bagley, John B. Andrews, Max Lerner, Chester Williams, Ernest S. Griffith, Delbert Clark, Clarence Pickett, Hadley Cantril, Floyd W. Reeves, Clark M. Eichelberger, Frederick L. Redefer, Carl Milam, Eugene Davidson, Guy Shipley, and Frank Kingdon.

Inquiries concerning the Council's publication program are invited. Its address is 1721 Eye Street, Washington, D. C.

American Film Center, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, will give free advice to anyone planning any type of visual education. They have made careful selections after reviewing hundreds of films. The rental of many of these are extremely low and some of them, distributed by the U. S. Film Service, Department of Agriculture, and other public agencies, are free. While most of those listed seem to deal mainly with geography, home economics, history, zoology, etc., some seem to be related to topics usually taught in sociology and anthropology.

One might mention (and get ready to dodge missiles from those who would limit sociology strictly), "Monkey into Man," "Eastern Valley"—rehabilitation of a Welsh community; "Getting Your Money's Worth"; "The Disinherited"—slums; "Housing Problems"; "Today We Live"—unemployment; "La Maternelle"—child's need for affection; "Road to Life"—salvaging of Russia's postwar "wild children"; "Moana"; "The Wedding of Palo"—Eskimo; "Cover to Cover"—history of writing; "Girls in Business"; "People of the Cumberland"—hill-billies; "Enough to Eat"—England; "Three Counties Against Syphilis"; "Smoke Menace."—R. B.

The American Law Institute's Committee on Criminal Justice—Youth has issued a report which shows that the youth of the nation doubles its expected quota in robberies and thefts, trebles it in burglaries, and nearly quadruples it in auto thefts, and that these four offenses make up more than ninety percent of all major crimes in the United States. The report, by Thorsten Sellin, comments: "when we consider that the youth contingent of the population of the United States over fifteen (16–21) years of age comprises only slightly more than thirteen percent of that population, these figures reflect a situation which is worthy of the deepest concern. In the face of such figures, it is small comfort that our youth do not contribute heavily to crimes against the person, fraud, drug and liquor law violations, nonsupport, etc." In 1937, out of 63,552 sentences in the United States to state and federal institutions, a total of 12,188 or 19.2 percent were under 21 years of age.

This research is a part of a two-year investigation by the American Law Institute into the crime problem in the United States among youth from 16 to 21, and into current prison, court and correctional procedures for handling young offenders. When its findings are completed, the Institute's Committee on Criminal Justice—Youth will report them, together with recommendations for whatever changes are found necessary in the field of criminal administration.

The Committee on Criminal Justice—Youth of the American Law Institute, which received this report, is composed of the following members: William Draper Lewis, Director of the American Law Institute, Chairman; Curtis Bok, President Judge, Court of Common Pleas, Philadelphia; E. A. Cass, Executive Secretary, American Prison Association; Sheldon Glueck, Harvard Law School; Leonard V. Harrison, Director of the Committee on Youth and Justice, Community Service Society of New York; William Healy, Director of the Judge Baker Guidance Center for Children and Youth; Edwin R. Keedy, University of Pennsylvania Law School; Austin H. McCormick, Commissioner of Correction for New York City; William E. Mikell, University of Pennsylvania Law School; Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania, author of the research report; Joseph N. Ulman of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore; John B. Waite, University of Michigan Law School and Reporter for the Committee.

This report may be obtained from the American Law Institute, 330 West 42nd Street, New York.

The Central Statistical Board has worked out a classification of occupations of 327 titles (The Standard Convertibility List). These have been combined into 95 intermediate groups useful for studying populations in which the whole occupational gamut may not be represented. They also have prepared the "Industrial Classification for Reports from Individuals" with 132 titles (and a condensed list of 99 titles) which is arranged so as to preserve almost complete comparability with The Standard Industrial Classification.

These lists are designed to be used in connection with the *Dictionary of Occupational Terms* of the Employment Service. It is now in press and contains about 29,000 terms. The Convertibility List and Industrial Classification are intended to reduce this great mass of separate terms to usable size while maintaining as much comparability as possible. These lists may be obtained from the Central Statistical Board, Washington, D. C. The occupational list (without the intermediate grouping) appeared recently in an article by Gladys L. Palmer, "The Convertibility List of Occupations and the Problems of Developing It," *J. Amer. Statist. Assn.*, December, 1939, 34: 693-708.

The Committee for Conceptual Integration, held two meetings at Philadelphia. The following program was presented.

First Session: December 28, 1939.

"Technics for Defining Concepts," Stuart A. Dodd, American University of Beirut (Read by Read Bain).

"Operationalism and Validity," R. V. Bowers, University of Rochester.

"The Social Aggregate," W. S. Landecker, University of Michigan.

"Definitions of the Term 'Institution'," J. F. Cuber, Kent State University.

"The Concept 'Civilization'," Constantine Panunzio, University of California at Los Angeles.

Second Session: December 29, 1939.

"A New Definition of Culture," Albert Blumenthal, State Teachers College, Maryville, Missouri.

"Folkways and Mores," E. E. Eubank, University of Cincinnati (Read by C. A. Ellwood).

"The Relation between the Concepts Social Organization and Institution," Maurice Parmelee, Washington, D. C.

"Definitions of the Terms 'Force', 'Coercion', and 'Violence'," Charles W. Havice, Northeastern University, Boston.

In general, the quality of the papers was high and the interest of those who attended was marked. Considerable discussion resulted. The Rural Sociologists have appointed a committee to study the technical terms used in that field. They may work in connection with the C.C.I.

A committee consisting of Bowers, Parmelee, Dexter, and Blumenthal was appointed to work on the question of definitions. They solicit suggestions from all those who are interested.

Albert Blumenthal, State Teachers College, Maryville, Mo., will continue as secretary and coordinator. All members and others interested should send him 25¢ (in stamps) at once to care for mimeographing and mailing during 1940.

The District of Columbia Chapter of the American Sociological Society has been having an interesting series of meetings. In November, E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University, discussed "Personality Factors in the Growth of Negro Youth"; in December, Horace Hamilton, of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, U.S.D.A., spoke on "Social Effects of Mechanism of Agriculture"; in January,

Chester J. Ellickson, Division of Program Surveys, U.S.D.A., spoke on "Democracy Articulate in Rural America"; at a special dinner meeting in January, Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, spoke on "Measurement of Social Change in Selected American Communities."

All sociologists who happen to be in Washington on the night of the District Chapter meeting are most cordially invited to attend. The Chapter meets on the third Tuesday of each month.

A Far Eastern Institute, sponsored by the Harvard Summer School and the American Council of Learned Societies will be held at Cambridge, Mass., on July 1 to August 10, 1940. It will include a history of clinical and Japanese civilization, and courses on the art of China and Japan.

Those interested should write to John King Fairbank, director, 41 Winthrop Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The International Phenomenological Society was founded in New York City December 26, 1939. Its purpose is to further the development and understanding of phenomenological inquiry as inaugurated by Edmund Husserl. The Society plans to issue a quarterly journal, beginning in the fall of 1940. This publication will present original contributions of research in phenomenology in its widest significance, including its application to the social sciences and psychology. It is hoped that sociologists interested in theory and methodology will collaborate in this undertaking.

Richard Hays Williams, University of Buffalo, was elected secretary-treasurer of this Society, and he would appreciate hearing from all who are interested in this project.

Foreign Policy Association has issued *New Homes for Old: Public Housing in Europe and America*, by William V. Reed and Elizabeth Ogg. It is a small book on a big subject, with 80 excellent illustrations. The authors are well known authorities in this field and have written a simple, highly informative, and useful pamphlet on a subject of increasing importance. It is excellent for classroom and adult educational purposes. The cost is only 25¢ with substantial discount on quantity order. The address is Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York.

New York World's Fair, 1940. In order that teachers, elementary and high school pupils, college students, and graduates working in specialized fields may find those things which most closely touch their special interests, a Department of Public Education has been established at the Fair.

The exhibits of art and modern architecture, child welfare, youth activities, the functions of government, and the application of science to industry, all bring the American scene into sharp and definite focus. The young person who has seen the Fair intelligently will have a clearer idea of his country and the world beyond it than he could gain from months of reading; but to see the Fair intelligently, he needs guidance; the Department of Public Education will furnish that guidance.

One important form of aid will be a series of leaflets. Two of these, "The Fair's Themes: A General Introduction" and "Science at the Fair" have already been issued. Four others, "Art at the Fair," "Exhibits for the Elementary School Child," "Social Studies at the Fair," and "Food, Decoration and New Products" will soon be available. Teachers and school administrators may obtain copies of these leaflets by writing to the Assistant Director of Public Education at the Fair. Being intended for the use of educators, they cannot be sent in great quantities to pupils.

The Department of Public Education also invites suggestions concerning other forms of service which it may offer to help teachers and pupils derive lasting benefit from their visits to the Fair.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society. President Manuel C. "Pat" Elmer announces that the regular annual meeting will be held on the last Friday and Saturday of April, 1940, at Columbus, Ohio, on the campus of Ohio State. About 150 members in the Region usually attend—and of course all other sociologists who happen to be wandering or sojourning in the area during the latter part of April are invited. Don't forget the Great Free Fraternal Breakfast furnished by the Ohio State Sociology Staff at Pomerene Refectory on Saturday morning, April 27.

Secretary-Treasurer Sam Newman, University of Louisville, will be glad to receive dues from all old and new members, but he urges everybody to "Come to Columbus" anyway, whether you have paid up or not.

Students in the Region are especially invited.

The Open Road, a nonprofit membership organization whose object is the promotion of international and interregional understanding, for fifteen years has been helping Americans to travel abroad observantly. In that period, it has organized approximately 400 field trips, independently and in conjunction with colleges and universities.

During the past year, The Open Road has initiated a program in the United States which aims to acquaint Americans with their own country—not its tourist sights, but the lives and problems of its people. Social science departments in leading institutions are being offered expert and complete facilities for conducting field trips.

The program for 1940 is principally a project in teacher education at the graduate level. Summer courses have been worked out with five institutions as follows: Teachers College, Columbia University: "A Sociological Field Course in Southern Conditions"—this course was given with signal success in the summer of 1939; Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, "A Workshop in Social and Economic Factors Influencing Education in New England"; School of Education, Northwestern University, "Problems of American Youth as Exemplified in Certain Urban and Rural Communities of the Middle West"; Colorado State College of Education, "Life Problems on the Great Plains and in the Rocky Mountain Area"; School of Education, New York University, "Field Seminar in the Sociology of the Tennessee Valley Region."

Enrollment is limited in each case to between twelve and fifteen qualified students. Fees are very moderate, being based on actual costs in the field, with no charge for overhead. Inquiries regarding these courses may be addressed to the institutions or to The Open Road, 8 West 40th Street, New York.

The Pacific Sociological Society held its eleventh annual meeting at the State College of Washington, Pullman, and the University of Idaho, Moscow, December 27-29, 1939. Before one of the two joint sessions held with the Pacific Coast Economic Association meeting concurrently at the two schools, President Glenn E. Hoover of Mills College presented an address on "The Role of Intelligence in Human Affairs."

Papers were: "The Radio as a Social Institution," Martin B. Neumeyer, University of Southern California; "Sociological Analysis of the Concept of News," Carl F. Reuss, State College of Washington; "Certain Psychological Processes in the Life History of Welfare Agencies," S. H. Jameson, University of Oregon; "Political Movements in the State of Minnesota," Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington; "Émile Durkheim's Contributions to the Problems of Social Control," John M. Foskett, University of Idaho; "Democratic Ideologies in the Sociology of Ward and Cooley," Elton Guthrie, University of Washington; "The Sociol-

ogy of War," George M. Day, Occidental College; "Voting Characteristics of American-born Japanese," Forest LaViolette, University of Washington; "The Mennonites of Yamhill County," William C. Smith, Linfield College; "Capital Punishment," R. H. Dann, Oregon State College; "Occupational Structure and the Relationship Between Jews and Non-Jews in Detroit," Henry Meyer, State College of Washington; "Teaching Sociology in our Secondary Schools," Duane Robinson, Whitman College; "Migratory Farm Labor," Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington.

These papers will be published in the *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*.

Officers elected for the year 1940 are: President, Martin H. Neumeyer, University of Southern California; Vice-President, Southern Division, Glen Carlson, University of Redlands; Central Division, J. V. Bereman, Stanford University; Northern Division, Robert H. Dann, Oregon State College; Secretary-Treasurer, Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington; Members of the Advisory Council, William C. Smith, Linfield College, Glenn E. Hoover, Mills College.

Pi Gamma Mu met in Philadelphia December 27, 1939. S. Howard Patterson was elected President and C. J. Bushnell, of Toledo University, treasurer. This organization, a national honorary social science society, now has about 125 chapters, most of which are in institutions certified by the Association of American Universities.

At the dinner in Columbus, December 29 (at the meeting of the A.A.A.S.), Wesley C. Mitchell delivered the address. Over 60 were present.

The Public Affairs Committee gave an informal dinner at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, on December 27, 1939. Those present were: Harry D. Gideonse, President, Brooklyn College, presiding; Ernest Minor Patterson, editor of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*; Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina; Paul Lazarsfeld, Princeton Radio Research Project; Dan Dodson, New York University; Benson Y. Landis, American Country Life Association; Winthrop D. Lane, author of "What Makes Crime?"; Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Columbia University; Edwin G. Nourse, Brookings Institution; Read Bain, editor, *American Sociological Review*; F. Eugene Melder, Clark University; Philip Ragen, Sociographics, Philadelphia; and from the Public Affairs Committee staff, S. M. Keeny, C. C. Rounds, Maxwell S. Stewart, Stanley W. Walker, Marion Humble.

The main purpose of the meeting was to discuss means by which the Public Affairs pamphlets could be more widely circulated. These pamphlets are now on their "Second Million" and certainly represent one of the major successes in adult education on important and varied public problems. Members of the Committee explained how the first million circulation was obtained and plans were discussed looking toward the attainment of the 2,000,000 mark in 1940.

Those who are interested in the program should write to The Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York. Many of these pamphlets, at 10¢, and still cheaper in quantity, make excellent teaching materials, as well as furnish reliable factual information for adult study groups and clubs interested in public questions.

The January 1940 pamphlet, Number 39, is *Loan Sharks and Their Victims*, by William Trufant Foster. This contains evidences of a type of financial folly and white-collar criminal cupidity which is widespread and makes you wonder whether we should apply the terms "civilized," "Christian," etc., to ourselves as glibly as we do. However, there is hope, since substantial progress is being made in the con-

trol of illegal lending. It is probably true that conditions are better now than has been the case during the last hundred years.

The February issue is on *Chain Stores—Pro and Con*, by The Institute for Consumer Education, Stephens College, Mo. It shows that chains undersell independents about 8.5 percent in groceries, 20 in drugstores, 3 to 17.5 in drygoods, and 10.5 to 24 in auto accessories. About 82 percent of the chainstore buying is directly from manufacturers. In 1929, chains had 10.3 percent of the stores but 21.9 percent of the trade; in 1935, they had only 8.5 percent of the stores but 25.5 percent of the trade. They grow because they save money for consumers. Simple. Antichain legislation is a simple-minded way to attack the problems raised by the chain stores—and these problems are real and important in an economy like ours.—R. B.

Psychodramatic Institute. J. L. Moreno and his staff will conduct courses in psychodrama at Beacon, New York, from June 10 to September 10, 1940. Training in the technique of the psychodrama will be given, with particular consideration to such problems as educational guidance, marriage counseling, mental disorders, and social maladjustments. Research in psychodrama and in sociometry will be carried on in collaboration with the students. The training will be accompanied by lectures and demonstrations covering all aspects of psychodramatic work. All lectures and demonstrations will be given in the therapeutic theatre, especially constructed for psychodramatic work. The course should be of special interest to psychologists, educators, psychiatrists, sociologists, social workers, and to all persons interested in personality training and in the effect of the social environment upon the personality.

Arrangements can be made for students to enroll for as short a period as one month, if they so desire. A fee of \$375 (\$130 a month) for the summer session covers maintenance, training, and lectures. A registration fee of \$5.00 will be credited toward tuition. Students are asked to register as soon as possible.

For literature and further information, write to the Psychodramatic Institute, 259 Wolcott Avenue, Beacon, New York.

Psychosomatic Medicine, a quarterly, put out its first issue in January, 1939, under the managing editorship of Flanders Dunbar and the sponsorship of the National Research Council and the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation. The appearance of such a journal is of interest to sociologists because it represents recognition of the point of view for which they have been contending for years—the organic relation between social conditioning and biological behavior; it means that the old mind-body dichotomy is on the way out. The findings of social psychology, cultural anthropology, and sociology have become sufficiently scientific so that medicine and biology have begun to recognize and accept them. Doctors have always recognized the "psychic" factor in illness but have been content to deal with it by placebos and the "bedside manner"—in short, by "magic" and commonsense "good advice." As the announcing brochure says, "When medicine has apprehended the psychosomatic problem and assimilated it, all medicine will be psychosomatic and the adjective redundant."

I note with pleasure among the editors and advisors such names as Franz Alexander, Clark Hull, W. B. Cannon, Karl Menninger, and Adolf Meyer, but I note with regret the absence of anyone who might be able to represent the societal factor which is almost always intimately involved in most of the "psycho"-part of the psychosomatic illnesses. The doctors have made an important forward step, but they have one more step to take before the mind-body dichotomy is completely destroyed. They need to give more attention to the societal aspects of psychosomatic

illness than most psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, and psychologists have done as yet. I should like to call to their attention men and women like James Woodard, Karen Horney, Frank Hankins, J. K. Folsom, R. E. L. Faris, A. B. Lindesmith, Harriet Mowrer, Pauline V. Young, Kimball Young, and Willard Waller.

Psychosomatic Medicine costs \$5.00 a year, and the *Monograph Supplements*, also quarterly, \$4.50, both for \$7.50. For medical students, internes, and residents, \$2.00, and \$3.00; or both for \$4.50. This is wise, because all "doctors of the future" should be trained in this field. Those interested should write Flanders Dunbar, Academy of Medicine, 2 East 103rd Street, New York.—R. B.

The School of Living, Suffern, New York, is an effort to give practical reality to the ideas Ralph Barsodi has been advocating for some years. It began in 1934 and has succeeded in demonstrating that these ideas are not mere Utopian dreams and the sentimental vaporings of the intelligentsia.

M. L. Wilson, M. W. Childs, Herbert Agar, O. E. Baker, and other well known decentralists, are much interested in the projects the School of Living has been promoting. Some sociologists will doubtless be interested in familiarizing themselves with the activities of Mr. Borsodi and his associates. The address is just Suffern, N. Y.—R. B.

Social Patents. A bill, H.R. 8308, has been introduced into Congress, providing for the issuance of patents to individuals who have made social inventions. "Sec. 3. The patentee shall be entitled to a fee of \$750 payable by the user thereof, said sum to become due and payable upon the enactment of any law incorporating any of the provisions or ideas contained in such patent." The general laws and practices of the Patent Office apply to such social patents.

It is an interesting bill and may be obtained from Rep. Ben Cravens, of Arkansas, its author, D. T. McCutchen, Park Lane Apts., Washington, D. C., or The Committee on Patents, to which it was referred. An appropriation of \$25,000 is asked for, to become available July 1, 1940.

The Twentieth Century Fund, beginning Feb. 7, 1940, is presenting a series of 13 broadcasts under the general title of "The Next Step Forward." This is in response to an overwhelming cry for "more" as a result of three experimental broadcasts last September. The last five, which readers of this note may hear, deal with "Distributors at Work," "Bringing Taxes into the Open," "Let's Keep Store," "Intelligent Buying," and "Security for Women."

The time is 11:15-11:30 P.M. Wednesdays, E.S.T. over WEAf and the NBC Red Network. It's good listening. The speakers are men of national reputation. Tune in. The Series may be obtained in print from The Twentieth Century Fund, 330 W. 42nd Street, New York.—R. B.

The Wisconsin Public Welfare Division of Corrections, newly created and under the direction of Morris G. Caldwell, formerly at the University of Kentucky, should be of interest to sociologists. It is one of the first organizations of its kind and it is significant that a professional sociologist was called to direct it. The following penal and correctional institutions are organized and coordinated under this plan: the State Prison for Men; State Hospital for Criminal Insane; State Reformatory for Men; Prison for Women; Industrial Home for Women; five prison camps; state work at the Milwaukee County House of Correction; Industrial School for Boys; Industrial School for Girls; the Bureau of Probation and Parole; members of Parole Board; Parole Camp at Eagle River; the educational program of the penal and cor-

rectional institutions; the Psychiatric Field Service; Identification and Classification; supervision of County Jails; and fact-finding activities of the Division.

The primary purpose of the Division of Corrections is to dovetail all these functions and services into one harmonious unit. This can and should be done because these services and functions are coordinate parts in the total process of treating and rehabilitating delinquents and criminals. In order to accomplish this purpose, all these institutions and services have been completely reorganized, and a new system of direct supervision has been inaugurated. This plan is new, unique, and outstanding in modern penological developments, and is attracting considerable attention in this state and elsewhere.

NEWS FROM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Appreciation and Invitation. Most of the items referring to schools in the region served by the Ohio Valley Sociological Society are taken from the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*, official organ of the O.V.S.S. This accounts for the greater coverage of departmental activities in this region than in other parts of the country. It is not due to the fact that I happen to live in this region but to the fact that the genial editor of the *O. V. Sociologist*, F. E. Lumley, gets all the news that's fit to print and I steal it from his sheet. This is intended as a public and permanent acknowledgment. I hope all the other regional societies receive the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*.

If the other regional societies have similar publications, I hope they will send them to me. If they do not, I hope they will instruct their secretaries to send (before the 20th of the month preceding each regular issue of the *Review*) all the pertinent news that happens in their regions. And of course, news items are always welcome—are besought in fact—from all heads and members of all departments in all schools. If Current Items is to tell us what the brethren are doing, the members must not be too diffident about sending in the material. It will be presented in a perfectly impersonal manner.—R. B.

Barnard College, Columbia University. The Dryden Press, 103 Park Avenue, New York, announces the publication of *War in the Twentieth Century*, a symposium by H. E. Barnes, Ralph D. Casey, Benjamin Higgins, Quincy Howe, Clifford Kirkpatrick, David Krinkin, W. C. Langson, Max Lerner, Ralph Linton, Lamar Middleton, Willard Waller, Francis Winwar, and Franz B. Wolf. It is edited by Waller and seems to be a valuable and timely book. (I haven't read it yet.)—R. B.

Colgate University. Norman E. Himes has accepted appointment as editor of Longman, Green's Social Science Series.

Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. Leonard Bloom will teach at Boston University during the summer school.

John F. Cuber is repeating a series of lectures on premarital and marital problems and conducting a counseling service on marital adjustment problems under the auspices of the Canton Y.M.-Y.W.C.A.

Joseph Roucek, of Hofstra College, will teach here during the first summer term. Harley Preston of Indiana University will teach both summer sessions.

Harvard University. Clifford Kirkpatrick, of the University of Minnesota, will teach social psychology in the Harvard Summer School. Courses in family and rural-urban sociology will be given by Carle C. Zimmerman, and James Ford is offering a course in social pathology. Research courses for graduate students are also announced.

The New England Conference on Family Relations will be held at Harvard University on July 24, 25 and 26. At this conference, many leading specialists and authorities on the family and child problems will be present. The meetings and round tables of this conference are open without charge to all who are officially registered in the Harvard Summer School and to all others upon payment of a small fee. Those interested should write Carle C. Zimmerman, Chairman of the New England Conference on Family Relations, 200 Emerson Hall, Harvard University.

University of Kentucky. Robert N. Ford, University of Pittsburgh, will fill the second semester vacancy left by the resignation of Morris G. Caldwell.

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. The Stanford University Press announces the publication of *The Railroader*, by W. F. Cottrell. This is a study of the effect of railroading upon the personality definition of men in the various types of occupation which goes to make up the general category "railroaders," i.e., those who operate trains.

Michigan State College. E. R. and Harriet Mowrer, of Northwestern, will give the course in family-marriage for seniors during the summer. This is a "service" course with no sociology prerequisites, intended for those who are contemplating or practicing matrimony. Last summer, Meyer F. Nimkoff gave it. (The M.S.C. seniors sure get the breaks!—R. B.).

The Michigan Sociological Society will meet at Ann Arbor in the spring in connection with the meeting of the Michigan Academy of Science.

University of Minnesota. Raymond F. Sletto is away this semester on a Social Science Research Council Fellowship. His address is 4756 Drexel Blvd., Chicago.

George Vold intended to spend his sabbatical in Europe but the war caused him to change his plans. He is traveling in South America and paying special attention to the penal systems and other matters of interest to a criminologist in the various countries he visits.

Clifford Kirkpatrick wrote a section on the rise of fascism in the book, *War in the Twentieth Century*, recently published by the Dryden Press, New York. This volume was edited by Willard Waller of Barnard College. Mr. Kirkpatrick will teach in the Harvard Summer Session.

Joseph K. Folsom, of Vassar, will teach in the summer school.

Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. The department of sociology at Morehouse College cooperated with the Educational Division of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration of Georgia in sponsoring a series of ten weekly forum meetings which began on November 1.

"Southern Problems," "Public Welfare in Georgia," "Fascism in the South," "White Primary," "Negro Education in Georgia," "The Negro Out of Politics," "Low Cost Housing in Atlanta," "Trends in Higher Education," "Social Responsibilities of the Church in the South," "The Georgia Penal System," and "Labor Unions and Their Relationship to Negroes," were discussed by competent speakers, in most cases people who are officially connected with the matters under discussion, or who have had extensive experience in the field.

W. R. Chivers, chairman of the department, and W. P. Tillman, director of the NYA in Georgia, were the organizers of these forum discussions.

New York University. Rudolf Kagey has been appointed Director of Public Education at the 1940 New York World's Fair. He is engaged in studying the thousands of exhibits with the idea of preparing "seeing aids" for teachers with special interests, and for students who may visit the Fair which has adopted as its 1940 slogan, "For Peace and Freedom."

The second annual Social Science Field Laboratory Fellowships have been announced. The laboratory will be held among the Pomo Indians, California, during the summer of 1940. The field work and publishing of the results will be supervised by B. W. Aginsky, director, and Ethel G. Aginsky, associate director. The fellowships are limited to eight graduate students and accredited seniors. They will be selected from applicants from various colleges and universities. It is not necessary to be an anthropology major to apply, but applicants must have a good background in the social sciences.

The purpose is to study present white-Indian communities against the background of the aboriginal Pomo Indian culture as an aspect of the general problem of social change. The results, which may be used as theses or dissertations by the fellowship holders, will also be published in a volume.

Those interested should address B. W. Aginsky, Sociology-Anthropology Department, New York University, Washington Square, New York—and do it as soon as possible. Only eight people can be taken.

Oberlin College. The article "Democracy Under Three Different Cultures," by Newell L. Sims, which was published in the February, 1940, *Review*, has been abstracted by Science Service and syndicated to the four or five hundred publications which subscribe to Science Service. Mr. Sims was dealing with a problem which is very much in the "public mind" these days. Both he and the *Review* are to be congratulated that his analysis has received such an unusually wide hearing.—R. B.

Ohio State University. Perry F. Denune is broadcasting one of his courses every class day at 9:00. He is also conducting an Institute for Social Living, which attempts to assist young people to handle courtship and marriage problems more intelligently.

Pennsylvania State College. Duane V. Ramsey has been appointed assistant professor of sociology taking the place of Howard Rowland who has gone to Ohio State University.

Kingsley Davis will teach at the University of Texas during the first six weeks of the summer session.

Queens College, Flushing, New York. Kimball Young, recently of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed professor in the sociology department. He assumed his new duties at the beginning of the second semester.

During the past year, he has been doing research with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and will remain with that organization on WAE status until the report of the research now under way is completed in June. It is hoped that this research project will make a real contribution to rural sociology, social psychology, and cultural anthropology.

George Simpson, editorial consultant of the Princeton Radio Research Project, has been appointed instructor in sociology. He will continue to serve on the staff of the Radio Research Project.

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Toledo University. C. J. Bushnell was reelected as secretary for 1940 of the political sociology section of the American Sociological Society. He was also elected national treasurer of Pi Gamma Mu.

Vassar College. Joseph K. Folsom will teach at the University of Minnesota this summer. He will give one course on "Problems of Social Interaction" and one on "The Family."

University of Washington. Calvin F. Schmid will teach at the Michigan State Normal School at Mt. Pleasant during the summer session.

University of Wisconsin. In the December, 1939, *Review*, it was erroneously reported that Paul Glick had been appointed to the Fort Hays State College, Fort Hays, Kansas. He is in the Bureau of Census, section of Family Statistics, and expects to remain until December, 1942, when the 1940 Census will be completed.

Yale University. The January 1940 *Bulletin of the Associates in the Science of Society* is up to par in attractiveness. It is all devoted to very interesting Sumnerana.—R. B.

Central Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago. Clifford R. Shaw is teaching a course in criminology during the spring semester and, together with Jesse A. Jacobs, will have charge of a seminar in local community organization. They will be assisted in the seminar by S. McKee Rosen, and by Messrs. H. B. Sell, Arthur Hillman, and Glenn G. Wiltsey. A limited number of students from the College have been selected for admission to the seminar, together with leaders from the areas in Chicago where Mr. Shaw has organized the community work known as the Chicago Area Projects.

Charles N. Elliott is teaching part time during the spring semester.

Siegfried Marck, formerly professor of philosophy at the University of Breslau (1917-1933), who has taught at Dijon since then, has joined the faculty to teach courses in philosophy and to give supplementary lectures in other fields. In sociology, he is lecturing on the European backgrounds of sociology, methodology, and social institutions.

EASTERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Eastern Sociological Society will meet April 27-28, 1940, at Asbury Park, N. J., at the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel. It will discuss the general topic, "Sociology of War." However, all papers submitted will be read, at least by title. They should be sent to J. K. Folsom, Vassar College, before April 20.

President MacIver of the A.S.S. will deliver one of the principal addresses. President Willard Waller, of the E.S.S., will preside at all general meetings. The complete program will appear in the June *Review*. J. W. Riley, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J., is chairman of local arrangements. Those wishing to arrange exhibits should write him.

Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass., is secretary and will be pleased to receive dues—but everyone should come—dues may be paid at Asbury Park. All sociologists visiting in the region are cordially invited to attend.

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University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

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The American Criminal: An Anthropological Study. Vol. I. The Native White Criminal of Native Parentage. By EARNEST ALBERT HOOTON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. xvi+303+380 (Appendix tables). \$10.00.

In an extensive survey, Hooton has undertaken to re-examine the well known theories of Lombroso relative to the physical differentiation of criminals "in the light of modern anthropological method and scientific impartiality." *The American Criminal* is the first of three massive monographs. The treatment is so detailed and heavy that most readers are advised to prefer the popular version, *Crime and the Man*, by the same author.

Some 4212 native white criminals of native parentage from the nine states of Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico made up the experimental sample. The independent units of sampling were actually states, and not criminals. Moreover, the states were not drawn at random nor by any recognized method of sampling, and the criminals were found to differ widely from state to state. Under these circumstances, if the size of the sample is taken as the number of criminals, as was done, the conclusions of the investigation cannot validly be extended beyond the states included. This is a major limitation that the author nowhere mentions.

The control group of civilians used in a major part of the work consisted of 146 Nashville, Tennessee firemen, and 82 Massachusetts militiamen and 85 hospital outpatients. The firemen and probably the militiamen were physically select classes. The author mentions the "corpulence of these firemen," but thinks them a better check than the Massachusetts control, because the latter was discovered to have a strong dash of Canadian French. Even "the Nashville firemen include only 59 per cent of Old Americans." After various statistical comparisons the conclusion is reached that "... the composite picture of the contrast between the criminal of native birth and native parentage and the civilian, emphasizes the smaller size of the criminal, his inferior weight and poorer body build, his smaller head and face, his straighter hair, his shorter, relatively broader face, with more prominent but shorter and broader nose, usually snubbed, and frequently deflected." In view of the biased control sample, it is not easy to see how confidence can be felt in these results.

Although correlation ratios or coefficients of contingency are sometimes mentioned, throughout the volume the primary device employed is that of testing the statistical significance of the difference between two proportions or means. In the investigation of the relationships about which the author is concerned, one misses the more incisive analysis that could be made by applying Chi-square to contingency tables with selected factors held constant, or by the use of analysis of variance and covariance. Even for the purpose of establishing criminal types, the author himself appears to have been disappointed by the results that he was able to obtain from the limited test upon which he relied: "Actually," he writes, "I am convinced that satisfactory typing can be accomplished in but one way—quite a different method of procedure from that adopted in this survey."

Nevertheless, using the test referred to, Hooton reports that offense groups are significantly different from the total criminal series in various combinations of sociological and physical traits. In fact, no matter how the criminals are grouped—by type of offense, by state of origin, by occupation, by education, by body type, by recidivists and non-recidivists—most of the classes are found to be significantly different in some ways. To be sure, when the differences are examined, they often seem to be largely random and without meaning; but if they are real, they may conceivably be important. Technically, however, these findings are open to question on at least three counts. In the absence of other than very limited attempts at factor control, it cannot be known to what extent the observed differences between offense groups are relevant to the kind of crime committed. That one way of life predisposes to one kind of crime and another to a different kind is likely enough; and there are known reasons why ways of life and physical types vary by locality. Even though certain physical traits are statistically associated with types of crime in the present sample, there is no assurance whatever that the same traits would constitute the significant differences in further large samples of criminals from other states. Until this crucial test is made, it seems advisable to take the results from the author's limited sample with a grain of salt. The second question has to do with the independence of the traits that are compared between any two groups of individuals. Such traits as "hair quantity in beard" and "hair quantity on body," "hair color" and "eye color," and so on, are by no means uncorrelated. In proportion as they are correlated, the tests of significance used by the author, which depend on the assumption of independence, are misleading. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is possible that this factor of dependence alone might explain most of the significant differences found in several parts of the study. A third point concerns a misuse of the test of a group of differences. At the 4 per cent level of significance adopted by the author, the most probable percentage of significant differences in a group of n differences is 4; but this 4 per cent is subject to a sampling error, so that a group of differences should not be regarded as significant unless the number of significant differences is greater than $n(.04 + 2\sqrt{.04(.96)/n})$. Since the author accepts as significant any group of differences that shows more than 4 per cent of the differences significant, his test is not stringent enough. Correction of this error will further reduce the number of significant findings reported.

The striking way in which the number of significant differences may decrease when even one or two appropriate controls are used may be seen in Chapter VI. The author avoided this, however, by changing the test from single features to combinations of features, on the argument that correlation between the traits, to which objection was made above, was thereby practically removed. While dependence probably was reduced in this instance, much undoubtedly still remained, because none of the original traits were combined, but only their subtraits. Moreover, in this shift of base he made the rule that "A complete morphological character is regarded as differentiated if one of its subcategories shows an independent

difference. If all of its categories show significant differences, it is still counted as but one differentiated morphological observation." The result was arbitrarily to increase the proportion of significant characters, because a character now had as many chances to be significant as it had subcategories, whereas before each attribute had only a single chance. Conclusions reached by methods like this are evidently unreliable.

One of the surprises of the book is its treatment of European origins. As would be expected, the returns to a question about the native white criminal's "extraction" were scanty and spotty, and their meaning was no doubt worse. But this was no obstacle. "It is obvious from the tables," the author wrote among other things, "that Irish strains are far the most common in the ancestry of all reporting groups of prisoners. . . . No less than 36 per cent of all of the reported extractions are Irish, not including the Scotch-Irish, and other Irish mixtures." If the author chose to make such a statement at all, he could hardly be expected to point out that it has no clear meaning. The percentage of Irish extraction given was found from such selective and incomplete returns that it has no point of reference whatever. Incidentally, no notice was taken of Welsh extraction, although this strain is probably more common among real Old Americans than is Southern Irish, and the physical differentia between Welsh and English are apparently no less than between Irish and English. As a matter of fact, it may not be too much to question the propriety of calling the criminals of this study "Old Americans" at all, since they were only "native whites of native parentage," and, due to the presence of certain states in the sample, evidently included many comparatively recent-comers to this country.

The author deserves praise for much more than ordinary painstaking, including corrections for state sampling, allowance for personal equations, and recognition of the play of chance among a group of significant differences—something that few investigators in the social sciences have considered. He also takes pride in a number of conservative minor decisions. In view of the questions that may be raised about the sampling and the analysis, this laborious attempt to demonstrate the thesis that criminals are physically differentiated from civilians and from one another certainly cannot be regarded as convincing. Nevertheless, Hooton's survey furnishes the most important body of data and experience in the investigation of the subject since Goring, and should serve as the point of departure for further checking and research.

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

University of Wisconsin

The Individual and His Society: The Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organization. By ABRAM KARDINER and RALPH LINTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xxx+503. \$3.50.

If a man's fame increases with the passage of time, it is usually because his general idea was fruitful and sound even though many of its details were "wrong." Darwin is a good case in point. Most of his basic observa-

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tions were correct and certainly the general idea of organic evolution is now an accepted scientific fact even though many of his "mechanisms" and "factors" have been revised, modified, or forgotten. The real contribution of Darwin is the idea that species originated naturally and were not created supernaturally; that an enormous time-span was involved; that such matters can be studied scientifically; that this must be done, not by attacking and defending Darwin, but by *getting on with the work*.

Seemingly, a similar fate faces Freud. Most of his conventional and clerical "enemies" are silenced; most of those who "repudiated" Freud (escape from the "father image"?) are fading; those who followed blindly (Roheim, Jones, Brill, Reik, etc.) are increasingly decreasing in importance; those who accept the general point of view but are scientists rather than disciples (Ferenczi, Reich, Rado, Fromm, Horney, Woodard, Dollard, Alexander, Kardiner, *et al.*) are "revising" the original orthodox Freudianism out of existence, but they may be doing for Freud what thousands of careful and critical biological scientists have done for Darwin—make him one of the enduring "great names" in science.

Kardiner thinks Freud's main error (upon which sociologists have been harping for years) was his phylogenetic theory of instinct and his attempt to derive both a psychology and sociology from this, particularly from the Oedipus complex conceived as the universal nuclear mechanism. Many subsidiary concepts had to be elaborated, such as the life (Eros) and death instincts, the ego-superego-id triad, etc., for while his general theory was never wholly satisfactory to Freud, he could not escape completely from his phylogenetic prepossession. Like Darwin, however, he was always able to criticize his own theories and to look forward to their final resolution by more intensive and extensive research. This openness of mind, this orientation toward the future, was as characteristic of Freud as it was of Darwin.

Kardiner points out that Freud's position makes impossible any comparative treatment of cultures and institutions as related to personality development. This book is the result of an effort to remedy this situation. For several years now, in his seminar at Columbia, Kardiner and his collaborators have been making a systematic comparative study of preliterate cultures from the general point of view of psychoanalysis. Materials on the Trobriand, Zuni, Kwakiutl, Chuckchee, Eskimo, Tanala-Betsileo, and Marquesan cultures were presented by people who had first-hand or intensive familiarity with them. The first five were studied for the purpose of working out the general methodology and concepts. The last two, presented by Linton in two excellent chapters, were then analyzed intensively. The book is divided into three parts: Methodological, Descriptive, and Theoretical. Space prevents our doing justice to the careful analysis, the tentative tone, the explicit statement of the limitations, and the modest conclusions of the book.

Basic personality structure, or ego (quite different from Freud's "ego"), is one of the principal concepts used. It is not defined explicitly in the book, but seems to be used consistently with Linton's statement in the Foreword, page vi: [It is] "the constellation of personality characteristics which would

appear to be congenial with the total range of institutions comprised within a given culture." "Institutions" are defined (page 7) as "*any fixed mode of thought or behavior held by a group of individuals (i.e., a society) which can be communicated, which enjoys common acceptance, and infringement of, or deviation from which creates some disturbance in the individual or in the group.*" Certain fixed biological needs are assumed. Also certain social needs are universal since means of satisfying them are found in all societies—varying greatly in detail, of course. Among these are: family; ingroup; larger group (clan, tribe, etc.); economic (sustenance); basic disciplines; control of mutual aggression; unity derived from certain psychological forces; life goals. These are the tools with which a comparative analysis of various cultures from the psychoanalytic point of view is made, with the general result that the orthodox Freudian position is greatly modified. Any sociologist would have taken this for granted, but it is gratifying to see a professed Freudian deal with the data realistically and arrive at a conclusion so similar to that long ago achieved by sociologists, social psychologists, and cultural anthropologists.

There are a number of positions with which I would take issue, such as: "institutions cannot be understood except as the creations of man"; the frustration-aggression duad, which I think is circular and too inclusive and indefinite; nursing as "naive cannibalism"; "drives" and "goals" which seem to be treated as entities; his use of legends as explanatory material after showing their inadequacy for "explaining" social origins; that behavioristic psychologies are so sharply different from those that use "direct" experience; the loose and inclusive use of the term "institutions"; that "the problems of sociology are clinical"; the "omnipotence" of the child; religion as the "drainage" of all culturally created anxieties; the distinction between primary and secondary institutions; and numerous other points. These can be merely mentioned. If they could be discussed, I doubt whether anything would be accomplished other than (possibly) a clearer definition of the problems involved.

The major contribution of the book has been indicated—a realistic revision of Freud's sociological speculations in the light of actual cultural data. This is an important problem which will require years of research, but such research should make many valuable contributions to the dynamics of personality and culture. It is interesting to note that the index contains no entries under "dreams," "symbols," "penis envy," etc., and that oral and anal eroticism, castration and Oedipus complexes, etc., are mentioned in the index largely because of the negative criticism to which they have been subjected in the text. The major entries in the index are adaptation, aggression, anxiety, behavior, culture, dependency, disciplines (the use made of this concept is very important, I think), ego (basic personality structure—not Freud's "ego"), environment, experience, frustration, institutions, magic, masturbation, needs, neurosis and culture, organization (family, social, tribal), personality, prestige, religion, repression, security system, subsistence economy, taboos, and of course, extensive references to the various cultures studied. The frame of reference may be the voice of Freud, but the index and the text are the hands of modern cultural anthropology.

Freud had a broad general idea, the importance of which may sometime be as great as Darwin's idea of evolution. Freud saw that the phenomena of the so-called "soul" could be studied by scientific methods; he saw that the experiences of very early childhood are important for adulthood; that there are such phenomena as repression and transfer of affect; that all human behavior, including dreams, slips, accidents (?), rationalizations, neurotic and psychotic symptoms, are "caused" by antecedent experience; that complexes of act-affect exist, both conscious and unconscious, etc.; and most of all, that these can be *studied scientifically*. This is his great contribution. That he did not see the part played by culture in these phenomena can be forgiven. Western thought was (and to a considerable extent still is) under the domination of social Darwinism and biological determinism. The knowledge of cultural phenomena and the modern sociological point of view necessary to save Freud from this error were nonexistent during his early creative years. This shortcoming must be remedied by his friendly critics. Kardiner's book is a new and important addition to this rapidly growing body of psychoanalytic literature.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Annales Sociologiques, Série A, Sociologie Générale, Fascicule 3. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1938. Pp. 116. 30 frs.

Selected Writings in Philosophy. By G. P. ADAMS, W. T. DENNES, J. LOEWENBERG, et al. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1939. Pp. xx+355. \$2.25.

Introduction à l'Étude de l'Économie Politique. By GAËTAN PIROU. Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1939. Pp. 303. 50 frs.

The present issue of the *Annales Sociologiques*, devoted to general sociology, contains some excellent book reviews and notices (though some of the books reviewed go back to 1930), and an interesting monograph of Georges Gurvitch entitled *Essai d'une classification pluraliste des formes de la sociabilité*. Gurvitch's background in jurisprudence has perhaps influenced him in the direction of sociological systematics. He has doubtless acquired much from Wiese, but he abandons the attempt to find a monistic basis of classification. The association-dissociation antithesis is adopted but not given a central position, and as a result the classification seems more realistic and useful (though probably less balanced) than Wiese's. The present monograph may also, in certain respects, remind the reader of René Maunier's *Essai sur les groupements sociaux*. It is unfortunate, however, that Gurvitch, under the influence of Durkheimian positivism, should seek to justify this excellent piece of conceptual analysis by comparing it to microphysics—an analogy which seems as absurd as it is unnecessary.

Selected Writings in Philosophy, like its companion volume, *Knowledge and Society*, is designed as an introduction to philosophy and social philosophy. It contains readings on metaphysics, epistemology, and scientific method from Plato, Bacon, Whitehead, Poincaré, Jevons, Broad, Royce, Leibniz, James, and Descartes; and readings in social philosophy from Aristotle, Darwin, Mill, Tawney, Woodbridge, and Dewey. With the doubtful

exception of Tawney, there is no supporter of the specifically sociological point of view represented; and the approach to society is ethical rather than scientific. The selections are limited in scope and arbitrarily chosen, and they proceed from varied and conflicting sets of philosophical presuppositions. The authors fail to point this out and (except for a 12-page introduction) make no attempt to supply the background material which the student would require for an adequate orientation.

Pirou's introduction to the study of political economy is devoted mainly to methodological problems, and is intended as the first volume of a four-volume *Traité d'économie politique*, written in collaboration with Maurice Byé. It begins with a balanced and lucid exposition of scientific method, which exhibits a praiseworthy skepticism about the supposed revolution in scientific method implied by recent discoveries in physics. An important difference between French and American economists is exhibited in the fact that Pirou devotes a long chapter to sociology, which he thinks of as the encyclopedic science properly *including* economics. After defining the scope of economics and distinguishing it from technology, law, and ethics, he passes on to an admirably succinct and lucid statement of the methodological conflicts which now divide economists. The subsequent discussion of the controversial issues displays unusual qualities of sanity, balance, and breadth of vision. Pirou's sympathies tend to favor the empirical method, although he is well aware that the data of economic history and statistics require an explanation in terms of a fundamental conceptual scheme dealing with the broad psychological and social forces which form the framework of economic activity. He feels, therefore, that the "abstract" method of the classical and neo-classical economics will continue to fill an indispensable role. He makes the interesting point that we need not treat the two fundamental postulates of classical economics—economic self-interest, and competition—as of equal value and applicability to-day. He considers that the first still remains valuable in explaining wide areas of economic life, while the second, due to the growth of monopoly and monopolistic competition, is becoming increasingly unrealistic. As for mathematical equilibrium theory, he is inclined to suspect that it is founded on such artificial premises that subsequent refinements of analysis carry it further and further away from the concrete economic facts which it is the business of the economist to understand and explain.

For the sociologist, this work may be of value in two ways: it provides an illuminating bird's-eye view of economics today, and its excellent presentation of the methodological problems of economics will be most stimulating for those who are concerned with the essentially analogous problems in sociology.

ÉMILE BENOÎT-SMULLYAN

Wells College

Rural Community Organization. By DWIGHT SANDERSON and ROBERT A. POLSON. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1939. Pp. ix+448. \$3.00.

The rural community as described here is "an emergent form of association" which should be "watched and fostered." Its "unorganized" type is

not one completely emerged, and the disorganized type is one in sharp inner conflict. Community organization gives a description of "watching, fostering," and avoiding or smoothing over "conflict." Documentation includes numerous case studies from north, south, east, and west. The work is written on the action level, but underlying all is an explicit theory of organic sociology and a number of tacit assumptions probably even more organismic. Proper "organization" means an improvement of human relations, but essentially the whole social planning movement implies some greater crystallization of human relations. The work ends with an appraisal chapter on "Rural Community Organization in the National Life."

This work, while on the text level, is essentially thoughtful; nevertheless, the work is more in terms of common-sense implications of the title "rural community" and rural "organization" as opposed to a more theoretical conceptual description. A *community* becomes, to the authors, a specific type of unit (p. 50) and *organization*, a specific type of action (p. 76). Many important problems such as the why of the "emerging community" or the what after "consensus" are not grappled with in detail. If, as implied in Chapter V, the community is its own answer to its own aims, one would like to know why. These questions may appear over-precise, but it is evident to the reviewer that the social aims of the present era are certainly different from those of the nineteenth century. That being the case, a systematic self-examination is more or less imperative.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Harvard University

Suye Mura, A Japanese Village. By JOHN F. EMBREE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xxvii+354. \$3.00.

This fifth rural sociology monograph published by the University of Chicago, under the title *Cultural Anthropology*, concerns an old Japanese village of one of the southern main islands. With the aid of those always obliging Japanese scholars, Shirosi Nasu of Tokyo and Eitaro Suzuki of Gifu, the author and his wife located and studied a village which, while neither forward nor backward, gives the essential rhythm of peasant life as expressed in Japan under the Tokugawa dictatorship (1602-1867), under the Meiji restoration (1867-1912), and under the more recent *Weltmachtspolitik*. Eight chapters and five appendices carry the engaging story and subsidiary data from history, village organization, family life, and cooperation through social classes and associations, life history of a typological individual, and religion. The concluding short chapter gives a brief, but not too penetrating, analysis of social changes since the Restoration. While the work refers to a number of important Japanese and Chinese studies, it is not documented in the general field of Western rural community studies where the same problems are also found expressing themselves in about the same manner. Western rural sociology must also deal in its communities with the phenomena of "Geisha" girls; short distance migration for marriage; the relation of neighborhood (Buraku) to village (Mura); the struggle between Shinto (local and state), Confucian (domestic), and world religious conceptions; and the peasant in relation to the Leviathan state.

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The reviewer thinks that the sex phenomenon is given adequate treatment in the work. However, the use of *sake* and *schōcū*, while described very well, is not given a theoretical relation to the total life of the people. Land as a factor in social organization is probably not given either sufficient descriptive or theoretical treatment. Chapter V does not demonstrate that the specious subdivisions of social class used there add anything to the treatment than would have been gained from the use of more generalized conceptions of plain upper, middle, and lower classes. Neither is there an explicit recognition in Chapter VII that the domestic shrine is, like much of the other foundation culture of these northern Polynesians, primarily Confucianist. Of course the Japanese themselves have been trying to deny this since their more recent period of clash with the Chinese. Finally, one wonders as to the why and significance of the pointed protestations of a nominalist conception of society on p. 299, particularly since this work arises from a school of thinkers who have at least outwardly deified Durkheim. The reviewer has always thought that what Durkheim contributed to the unthinking nineteenth century certainly did not arise because of any tacit assumptions of social nominalism. Nevertheless, this is a good book which ought to be read by other sociologists and followed by further village studies by the same author. It might be particularly interesting if the ideas of this "rural" school would be cross-fertilized with those of the professional rural sociologists. Inbreeding serves well to fix a type, but cross-fertilization yields the greatest results whether in hybrid corn or in ideas.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Harvard University

The Southern Poor-White: From Lubberland to Tobacco Road. By SHIELDS McILWAINE. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. Pp. xxv+274. \$2.50.

These Are Our Lives. As told by the People and Written by Members of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. xx+421. \$2.00.

Although written by non-sociologists, the books here reviewed attempt types of social analysis which challenge our attention. Professor of English McIlwaine "tries to tell the social story of the [Southern] poor whites" (p. xxv) by tracing their treatment in both Northern and Southern literature from colonial times to the present. In each period, literary portraiture is traced against the background of economic, political, and social conditions. The poor-white is seen refracted through the motives and prejudices of the writers and the social classes they represent. Thus the relationships, especially psychological, between classes are shown. From a sociological point of view, the author's grasp has exceeded his reach. We would question, too, his economic, and what seems to be biological, determinism. He

has, however, pointed the way to a sociological use of literary materials that deserves attention. The use of stereotyped epithets to show social status will interest the social psychologist.

These are Our Lives is an important handbook for students of Southern culture, and for those interested in an individual approach to social problems. The idea of the project was "to get life histories which are readable and faithful representations of living persons, and which, taken together will give a fair picture of the structure and working of [Southern] society" (p. ix). "Readable"—very. "Faithful representations"—within very small margins of error. "Structure and working of society"—not wholly complete, of course, but vital illumination from within. Families in all occupations and walks of life were interviewed. Instruction given the writers (pp. 417-421) was to lead the conversation over the person's major experiences and set down the story accurately and simply. The idea was to present "real, living people . . . their own stories, . . . told by themselves from their own point of view" (p. xiv). Some of the stories are inspired; most are revealing; a few, mechanical. The aim, to present people looking at their own problems, is carried out. Naturally some see clearly, others obscurely. The main impression is that of "good" people caught in a "bad" system. This is partially true, the reviewer believes. However, biases of writing and selection have led to some overemphasis. Problems from erosion to "vicious" mill owners pass in review, usually treated from several viewpoints. Shown also are the aspirations and abilities of high and low. The section "On the Farm" is the most complete and presents a rounded picture of Middle-South agriculture. The characters range from Negro croppers "Tore Up and a-Movin'" to "Marsh Taylor, Landlord." Sections on the industrial village, service occupations, and relief families are progressively less inclusive.

MORTON KING

University of Mississippi

The City: A Study of Urbanism in the United States. By STUART A. QUEEN and LEWIS F. THOMAS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. Pp. xv+500. \$4.00.

This book differs from current texts of the city on perhaps two main counts. First, it is the joint product of a sociologist and a geographer. It is not clear, however, that the geographical treatment, which seems rather weak, adds anything of significance. Second, from cover to cover there is insistence that what is not quantitative ought to be; and the usual speculations are persistently hedged about with question marks.

This surprisingly rigorous point of view is most hopeful for the future of urban research; but at the present stage of sociological inquiry it has its distinct disadvantages, as this textbook very interestingly reveals. One of these is that our tested knowledge, although steadily increasing, still makes a rather scanty exhibit. A second disadvantage is that explanation and synthesis of the as yet scattered findings are by no means easy. Although

recapitulations of the major and minor statistical researches done so far in the urban field in the United States run like a backbone through this work, the authors are quite excusably often at a loss to know how to interpret them. A third handicap of the quantitative approach is that in literary organization and style, and in the desirable qualities of interest and stimulation, this text falls short of some of its competitors.

The hardihood of the authors in accepting such penalties as these in order to insist on higher standards of reliability and accuracy in the gradually accumulating field of knowledge about the city is heartily to be commended, even though their skill is not always equal to their task. After all, it is probable that the elements in which this text appears inferior can be more easily supplied by a resourceful teacher and by an abundance of descriptive supplementary readings than can the scientific rigorouslyness for which it stands and which is lacking in the average text on the city.

THOMAS C. McCORMICK

University of Wisconsin

Rural Relief and Recovery. By RUPERT B. VANCE. Social Problems No. 3, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. 32. Free on request.

Migratory Cotton Pickers in Arizona. By MALCOLM BROWN and ORIN CASSMORE. Division of Research, Works Progress Administration. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. xxii+104. Free on request.

The Drought Farmer Adjusts to the West. By RICHARD WAKEFIELD and PAUL H. LANDIS. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 378. Pullman: State College of Washington, 1939. Pp. 56. Free to citizens of Washington.

Wilton, a Rural Town Near Metropolitan New York. By NATHAN L. WHETTEN. Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 230. Storrs: Connecticut State College, 1939. Pp. 132. Free.

Rural Social Areas in Missouri. By C. E. LIVELY and C. L. GREGORY. Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin No. 305. Columbia: University of Missouri, 1939. Pp. 39. Free.

These topics—relief, migratory labor, drought population, suburbanization, and regionalization—illustrate the broad variety of rural research today. All are by W.P.A. or acknowledge W.P.A. assistance. This indicates the role W.P.A. has played in rural research from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The first is a brief semi-popular summary of *Seven Lean Years*, by Woofter and Winston. The second provides facts concerning the westward movement of drought refugees from Oklahoma and Texas, their earnings and living conditions in cotton picking, which these migrants consider to be the least desirable of all migratory agricultural work.

The third study indicates, in contrast to the second, that there is a class

of drought migrants which comes to stay. It describes their adjustment in the new cultural milieu and some of the important problems related thereto.

The fourth, a survey of a New England town, is the third in a series on suburbanization in Connecticut by the same author. Nearly half the gainfully employed householders are commuters. The median size of landholding is 3.5 acres, mostly devoted to hobby farming. The average household maintains 3.4 memberships, 1 per person, more than half of them in organizations outside the town.

Rural Social Areas in Missouri results from the second statewide application of the statistical procedure developed by the senior author for dividing a state into major and minor areas, each county of which is more like the area in which it is included than it is like any other area. Six such major areas are defined by the use of a composite farm plane of living index. Four of these are subdivided by using a tenancy index. Approximately 100 indexes showing county variation in cultural traits were collected and considered in selecting and constructing the combined indexes. A section on method is included. Obviously, the method is more exact than the data to which it is applied. The real test will come when the culture content and characteristics of these areas are more adequately described.

RAY E. WAKELEY

Iowa State College

Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875. By ROGER W. SHUGG. University, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1939. Pp. xii+372. \$3.50.

Perhaps no contemporary phenomenon is so thoroughly misunderstood and so grossly misrepresented as current economic, political, and social ferment among the South's middle and lower classes. Nor are there many current movements of more significance for the entire nation. For those who seriously try to understand the modern South and its problems, or even to properly evaluate Southern congressmen and senators, Shugg's contribution is very useful.

Any careful study of backgrounds always does much to give perspective and coloring to the canvas picturing modern situations, and Shugg has made a noteworthy contribution in this interesting book.

The titles of the nine chapters into which the treatise is divided give a good idea of the field and scope of the work. These are as follows: The Travelers' View Reconsidered; Characteristics of the Several Classes; Social Conditions in the Old Regime; Free Labor and Slavery; Government by Gentlemen; Secession and War; Class and Race Strife; Survival of the Plantation System; and Rise of the Poor Whites. To these highly sociological considerations the author brings his training and experience as a historian. But more important still he combines with them the knowledge and insight gained as a post-doctoral fellow of the Social Science Research Council studying in England economic history and the relation of an-

thropology and sociology to history. The net result is history of a type that is highly significant for the student of human social relationships. Sociologists and economists would do well to study this book carefully, historians to consider its orientation.

One intimately acquainted with the State can call attention to details which escaped the author on his three visits. (1) The French population was resident in Louisiana long before it became part of the United States. Therefore designating them as "foreign stock" (p. 18) in contrast with later arrivals hardly seems to be good judgment. (2) The rolling Feliciana Parishes are an exception to the rule of large planters being located in the river bottoms (p. 44). This exception is important because these Felicianas were the seat of the greatest expression of *ante bellum* plantation grandeur to be found in the state. (3) The writer's use of the term "Cajuns" (p. 49) instead of "Acadians" to designate the descendents of the French exiles from Acadia seems an unnecessary lapse from good taste. (4) Throughout the book (for example pp. 52-53) a reliance is placed upon mortality statistics which can be found only among those who are unversed in the pitfalls such data contain. (5) Had Shugg relied on primary sources, which are available, instead of on secondary materials, the egregious errors in religious data (not a single Baptist or Methodist Church west of the Mississippi in 1841, p. 64) could have been avoided.

The last point calls attention to what is probably the greatest defect in the book; namely, reliance upon sources such as newspaper accounts for material which is readily available in official reports of the census, church denominations, etc.

Shugg has contributed a monumental piece of work in collecting and arranging materials and sources. His book will be of great assistance to all concerned with the cultural backgrounds of present-day Louisiana. But much more careful analysis of these materials is necessary before their full significance will be evident.

T. LYNN SMITH

Louisiana State University

The Growth of American Manufacturing Areas. By GLENN E. McLAUGHLIN. Pittsburgh: Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh, 1938. Pp. xxvii + 358. \$3.00.

Die Verlagerung der grossstädtischen Industrie. By ROBERT VON KELLER. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1938. Pp. vii + 160. RM. 7.50.

These two studies in the field of industrial location are very different from each other. The German author seeks to determine whether the government should undertake to bring about changes in industrial location which "natural" factors have so far failed to produce. His is a study in the field of social and economic policy. McLaughlin, on the other hand, wishes to measure and analyze economic growth for the more important industrial sections of the United States and more particularly in the Pittsburgh

district. His is a fact-finding inquiry which in its first half offers a comprehensive body of statistical material on trends of change in gainful workers distribution between 1870 and 1930, population for the same period, manufacturing wage earners, and value added by manufacture between 1869 and 1935. With this body of material in hand, he undertakes to interpret the reasons for regional differences in the rate of industrial growth, and he analyzes the position of the Pittsburgh district in the past and future as it is related to the whole country's industrial growth trends. In this brief and non-technical review, it may suffice to point out that this interpretation would have gained in perspective and depth if the author had familiarized himself with the outstanding theoretical literature dealing with economic location. There are no traces of the work of Hoover, Palander, Predöhl, or Alfred Weber. As a consequence, the author flounders about among various factors, although he rightly points out that "the more fundamental reason, no doubt, lies in differences among areas in costs of production for given products and in changes in these differentials." At least an economic theory of location may consider this problem of cost differentials the decisive one.

How unwise it is to construct a purely economic theory, however, becomes evident when we turn to Keller's study, which attempts to present the problem of industrial location as a task in planning. After pointing out that military as well as political considerations may lead to distinctive (and often conflicting) patterns of desirable (he calls them ideal) locations for various types of industrial production, he dwells at some length upon the problems raised by "depressed areas" as well as by the overconcentration of industrial activity in metropolitan areas. Accepting the view, now so ardently espoused by the Nazis, that life in big cities is inimical to satisfactory personal development and family life, he proceeds to posit as a primary task of economic policy the dispersion of industrial locations so as to facilitate the settlement of workers in "garden cities" grouped around middle-sized urban manufacturing centers. It will, of course, be remembered that these policies were by no means original with the Nazis, but, as Keller remarks, the authoritarian government in Germany offers peculiar chances for effecting changes of this variety. He even suggests that Germany has a duty to show by example what can be accomplished in this field, unhampered as she is by "the cumbrous processes of parliamentary debate." The author shows a laudable awareness of the obstacles to effecting such changes, however. More particularly does he point out, without mincing words, how the government (i.e., the taxpayer) pays for most of the increased costs in the end (p. 42-3). But he insists that "higher" aims can justify such expenditures. It is amusing to see how thus an apparently technical problem leads right to the heart of the great controversy of democracy versus dictatorship. For who is to decide what changes are desirable or necessary from a social, political, or any other viewpoint? Is it not the clear recognition of this difficulty which leads to a preference for democratic planning, in spite of the admitted delays and frustrations? The benevolent bureaucrat, armed with his fine technical solution, finds it

always hard to muster the patience required for getting others whose life and interests are affected to collaborate willingly. The author has, of course, no doubt that the population as distributed according to his plan and in accordance with his preferences concerning general social policy (which he believes are the preferences of the present German government) will be happier and healthier in the end. Deeply felt attachments, whether personal, regional, or material, may be disrupted; never mind, there will be flowers and potatoes in the garden lot at the new location. . . . And have not depressions in the liberal economy torn people from their wonted moorings?

The two volumes, though both technical in scope, reveal in a striking fashion the dependence of adequate scientific analysis upon a full grasp of the broader theoretical implications, economic, political, social. Both books, though competent in their factual material, would have gained in perspective and interpretation, if the authors could have placed the material within the broader framework of theory.

CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH

Harvard University

De Svenska Privatanställda. En Sociologisk Studie (Swedish Non-Manual Workers). By FRITZ CRONER. Stockholm: Kooperativa Förbundets Bokförlag, 1939. Pp. 474.

This is the report of a very painstaking investigation of the working conditions of "white-collar," non-governmental employes in Sweden as of 1936. The research was conducted under a special grant from the Swedish government to the Statistical Institute of the University of Lund, which was then under the general direction of the late Professor Sven Wicksell. The result is a further tribute to his distinguished career as well as a credit to the scholarly and scientific competence of Dr. Fritz Croner, who planned and conducted the investigation and wrote the report.

A schedule of four folio pages with more than fifty individual inquiries was used in gathering the data. About 38,000 schedules were distributed, chiefly through the cooperation of the organizations of the employes concerned. About 20 percent of the schedules were returned and became the basis for the findings. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to a detailed consideration of the question of the representativeness of this sample, with satisfying results in most respects. Part I is devoted to an introduction and to this account of the history, purpose, and methods of the study.

The principal groups studied were executives, technical personnel, foremen, commercial office workers, watchmen, messengers, etc., warehouse and store employes, and druggists. The volume is mainly devoted to a detailed statistical report on the working conditions of these groups (both sexes) from the following points of view: (1) wage conditions according to the broad occupational groups given above as well as according to particular industries, marital status, age, length of service, geographic location, cost-of-living regions, size of establishment, education and training, mo-

bility, and foreign residence; (2) trend of wages according to the principal groups, for two or more decades; (3) working hours according to most of the above classifications, including such subjects as overtime and holiday work; (4) types of labor contracts; (5) vacations according to occupation, industry, size of establishment, age, and wages; (6) wage conditions during illness according to occupation, industry, size of establishment, and type of labor agreement; (7) conditions of dismissal and quitting work; (8) pensions. Two chapters on private insurance and sources of income other than from principal employment conclude Part II of the volume.

The above items will give some idea of the scope if not of the thoroughness and detail with which the study has been carried on. This review cannot, unfortunately, report even the major results of the inquiry. The comprehensiveness of the undertaking becomes further evident in Part III, which is devoted to the social conditions of the groups studied—education, "social source" of the employees, the occupations of relatives, "social circulation," employment of wives, number of dependents, and related matters. Part IV deals with the more specific demographic questions of marital status, age at marriage, and the size of families and fertility of marriages. The necessarily heavily statistical nature of the preceding contents is relieved in Part V by a series of "typical" case histories. Special attention should be called in this connection to the graphic methods of portraying individual profiles.

Part VI concludes the volume with two chapters on the economic and the social problems represented by the position of these workers. The last chapter especially is of sociological interest because of its discussion of the position of this group of workers in the "class" structure of contemporary Swedish society. In fact, it should be emphasized in conclusion that the subtitle of the volume, "A Sociological Study," is well justified. For this is no mere statistical monograph of uninterpreted facts. It is shot through with revealing interpretations of the facts from the standpoint of larger sociological problems. The book is an excellent example of that combination of empirical and theoretical methods which characterizes all mature scientific work. On the negative side must be recorded the lack of an index as well as of a list of the numerous and excellent tables and charts. Worst of all, the pages are uncut, thus compelling the prospective reader to spend considerable time completing the manufacturing of the book before beginning its perusal. Nevertheless, all future investigations of this subject cannot afford to neglect this excellent monograph both as regards its methods and its findings.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Bennington College

Ideas Are Weapons. By MAX LERNER. New York: The Viking Press, 1939. Pp. ix+553. \$3.50.

Lerner is foremost among the political journalists of ideas who, looking behind the face of thought, behold the problems of politics. The soci-

ologist of knowledge is their technical parallel, and they are cousins of the political semanticist.

Ideas Are Weapons is composed of sprightly essays on ideas and thinkers. The ideas range across all extant fields of social science; the men include American legalists and politicians; ten Europeans scattered in time, country, and vocation; six literary figures; and several social scientists: Veblen, Commons, Beard, Carl Becker, Lynd, and Pareto. Most of these essays were originally written for liberal weeklies, a few for law reviews and quarterlies, and seven for *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Through Lerner's depiction of the tyranny of words and the folklore of ideas is woven a genteel request for a militant democracy.

Mr. Lerner uses cultural materials as loose interpretative frames in which his biographies are lightly situated. Behind them run the political chatterings of cultures. Some of the essays have the unmethodic hurry and protestation of those who organize much of their thinking around the weekly news of political squabbling and violence; but many are considered, composed from the perspective of the quarterlies; and sometimes the ambit of Lerner's thought includes the eighteenth century. But in the main the essays lie on the reflective level of the very best in the journals of liberal opinion. They are close, not to social action, but to critical comment upon it. And there is a little gallantry and rhetoric: Lerner believes that science and life and truth will eventually win out, that Thomas Mann is a hero, that "more than anything else . . . its anti-scientific bias will . . . ultimately defeat fascism."

At times his democratic values hold his analysis in check, but in other analyses this initial act of judgment sharpens his sensitivities to cultural claimants of thought. For instance, the most provocative passage in the book for sociologists is "The Theory of the Social Process" in which Lerner suggests several social-political roots and consequences of the central emphasis on Continuous Social Process and its affiliates in American sociology.

Lerner's thinking moves across American political contexts and is largely concerned with big personalities in this milieu. He writes of American traditions and public thinkers in the vein of Parrington, and within these premises he is very illuminating, very subtle, and at times penetrating. But in terms of what has been and can be done with the sociological approach to ideas and thinkers he is very near the beginning. He has not yet realized that the sociology of knowledge is, in one dimension, an attempt to address politically important problems without being a victim of bias. He has not attained and does not use to the fullest the extant methods and theories of the sociology of knowledge, and he does not appreciably advance our empirical findings.

He would have come to his task more adequately equipped had he studied the *Wissenssoziologie* of such men as Scheler, Mannheim, Durkheim, and Granet rather than absorbed their mood and intention. And he would have done better had he controlled his statements with more factual material. But he is well on the way. Ideas are weapons in that they are

often used as social forensics. But ideas may also be weapons in the research quest for analytic discrimination and in the discovery of subtle relation. If most of Lerner's arsenal does not cut too deeply, he has demonstrated that the sociological approach to the intellectual is implicit within a generous American tradition—including a little Marxism—and that even in this inchoate shape it can be used sensitively with rather fruitful results.

C. WRIGHT MILLS

University of Wisconsin

The Party of Humanity. By EDWIN M. EVERETT. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. ix+370. \$3.50.

Herbert Spencer Betrayed. By ALFRED W. TILLET. London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd., 1939. Pp. ix+67. 4s. 6d.

Everett critically examines the *Fortnightly Review* and its contributors for the years 1865 to 1874 during the editorship of George Henry Lewes and John Morly. The *Review* opposed anonymity in journalism, insisting that articles be signed. From the start its columns reflected the thought of August Comte and of Positivism. The articles carried arguments pro and con regarding Comte, but mostly pro. In the latter half of the period under consideration the influence of Comtean thought in the columns of the *Review* decreased, and the name of Herbert Spencer occasionally enters the picture. Liberal thought in the 'sixties and 'seventies gets an extensive hearing in the *Review*. Jeremy Bentham's humanitarianism leads the way. The rights of labor were ably championed. Both freedom and variety of thought were popularized, but the author points out that, on the other hand, even liberals develop a dogmatizing of their own. He suggests that liberalism's dogmas are capable "of becoming every bit as vicious as the old" and concludes with the thought that the *Review's* liberalism may have been as malign as beneficent. At any rate, it was influential in producing change, for better or worse. It is hard to see, however, how liberalism, even though it ultimately degenerates into dogmatism, does not after all act as a releasing force and hence does not at least foster freedom.

Tillett takes up the cudgels in behalf of Herbert Spencer, who in his will assigned a portion of his money for the publication of his uncompleted Descriptive Sociology Series. The book, *Herbert Spencer's Sociology*, was prepared at the request of the trustees, presumably in accordance with the provisions in Spencer's will, by J. Rumney who was paid two hundred and twenty-five pounds "out of Spencer's monies to write it." He was assisted by Morris Ginsberg. Tillett contends that this new book, instead of "consisting of descriptive sociology, is in effect a critical estimate of Spencer's sociological teaching, coupled with a dissertation on the ideas of some modern sociologists." In short, he believes that *Herbert Spencer's Sociology* was "an unfortunate misapplication of trust monies." In other words, the money should have been used, according to Tillett, to carry forward Spencer's work in descriptive sociology or else the new book should not have

been financed out of Spencer's funds. Of course the trustees may have felt that no further work along the line of Spencer's descriptive sociology is needed and hence that they were justified in spending Spencer's money on a volume of a different type. Tillett also contends that Rumney has misrepresented Spencer, and quotes materials from Rumney's book and from Spencer to prove his point of misrepresentation. To pass judgment on this issue it would be necessary to compare the context in Rumney's book with the whole of Spencer's writings, which would be a neat piece of research work to be undertaken by a widely representative committee of sociologists. It is doubtful, however, whether the results would justify the expenditure of time and money.

E. S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

Jedediah Barber, 1787-1876: A Footnote to the History of the Military Tract of Central New York. By HERBERT BARBER HOWE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xv+237+29 illustrations. \$3.50.

The author's aim is to present, by means of biography, "a case history of one of the many New Englanders who went westward at the turn of the eighteenth century, of the son of a small farmer in eastern Connecticut who became a successful merchant in central New York." Barber is supposed to represent the typical settler of this area and period rather than the nationally known "local boy"; his life is presumably a reflection of social changes during this period. The sociologically minded historian should find the work a handy reference to certain details of central New York history, but the author barely touches those aspects which the Foreword claims have been considered; namely, how Barber "lived in and with and for a typical American community" and how his experience manifests "the conquest of the wilderness, the establishment of local enterprises, the institutionalizing of culture, the uses of wealth, the fading of village economy before the influence of city manufacturing and finance— . . ." Questions of what Barber typified and the extent of his typicality may be irrelevant for the historians' purposes, but a disregard for them curtails the book's sociological usability. As a research on "village worthies" this work also suffers from its antiquarian concern for personal details.

GORDON T. BOWDEN

Harvard University

Social Ideals in German Literature, 1770-1830. By LUDWIG W. KAHN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. iv+108. \$1.50.

Aristocracy and the Middle-Classes in Germany. By ERNST KOHN-BRAMSTEDT. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1937. Pp. xii+362. 15s.

Kahn's little monograph deals with German literature in the last quarter of the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth centuries. Standard categories are applied: (1) *Sturm-und-Drang*; (2) Classicism; (3) Romanti-

cism. The whole effort is to analyze writings falling in these three categories, in the period named, in their own terms. There is almost no reference to the social contexts from which writers absorb their "social ideals," nor to the audiences to which they must appeal. The monograph might be of some aid to those interested in the sociology of knowledge, but only if its contents are rendered meaningful by a great deal of complementary research.

Kohn-Bramstedt's volume is refreshingly different. The period is the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century, and the materials analyzed are in part the same "literary" type as those dealt with by Kahn. Here the similarity ends. Instead of the sterile categories noted above, we find topical analyses: (1) middle-class superiority; (2) aristocratic and middle-class prestige; (3) popular literature and Philistinism; and so on. The writers whose ideas are focused upon are never treated as disembodied intellects revolving in a void; social structure, economic forces, political affiliations, patronage, literary groupings, and similar ties with time, place, and circumstances are all presented in detail. Anyone wishing to gain a clear conception of the varying types of mentality current in nineteenth-century Germany cannot afford to overlook Kohn-Bramstedt's work. Trained in the tradition of Sombart, Max Weber, and Mannheim, he poses definite problems, formulates sharply outlined hypotheses, evidences the greatest of care in the selection of his empirical data, and states his conclusions tentatively and yet univocally. We need more of these studies in what MacIver has aptly termed "the substantive sociology of knowledge."

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century. By PERRY MILLER. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xi + 528. \$3.75.

Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850. By DAVID M. LUDLUM. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. x + 305. \$3.50.

Perry Miller has written a truly distinguished book. It is a relief map rather than a chronological survey of the concepts, the speculations, the scarcely challenged credo of seventeenth century Puritans in New (and Old) England which takes its place as the standard work in this field. The religious beliefs, as well as the cosmology, the "anthropology" and "sociology" of the time are subjected to a discerning analysis. The relations between the New England mind and body have been advisedly neglected, but the broad and penetrating scholarship of this work is not thereby impaired. It is to be hoped, however, that the sequel promised by Miller will consider in some detail the social contexts of these Puritan views.

A suggestive finding, which has long been unheeded by historians, is the continuity of scholastic and Puritan thought. To be sure, Puritan doctors were in revolt, but older intellectual formulations were far from wholly abandoned. A strain of "Augustinian piety" and—in the literal sense—Platonic ideology are shown to have persisted in the very circles of those who thundered against the "corrupt schoolmen." However, it may be sug-

gested that in some respects Miller exaggerates this continuity of thought. If, as he maintains, "Puritans" held fast to practically all of the traditional assumptions in physics, astronomy, medicine, etc., how can we account for the notable Puritan contingent in the vanguard of the Royal Society? These views persisted among the scientifically uninitiated rather than the Puritans who were actively engaged in scientific work. On this view, these materials illustrate the slowness with which advanced scientific ideas permeate the non-scientific elite and, frequently in hardly recognizable formulations, the "masses." The problem at issue is not simply a matter of logomachy; it involves the question of the homogeneity of the "Puritan mind."

This study confirms the increasingly accepted thesis that the Puritans' eminent role in the furtherance of the new science was an immanent outgrowth of their emotionally supported tenets. For the sociologist, this meticulous analysis of Puritan doctrine is an important supplement to certain phases of Troeltsch and Weber; for the historian of ideas, it is a model of modern research.

In tracing the various currents of social agitation in early nineteenth century Vermont, Ludlum contributes a valuable historical case study of the roots of the humanitarian ethos. The constraining influence of individualistic and egalitarian sentiments is clearly reflected in the movements for abolitionism, universal education, and even in the various millennialisms of the time. Recognizing that the currency of these agitations for reform is itself a sociological problem, Ludlum deals with their presumable socio-economic sources. This, the fifth volume in the Columbia Studies in American Culture, testifies to the fruitful convergence of historical and sociological research.

ROBERT K. MERTON

Tulane University

Christianity and Morals. By EDWARD WESTERMARCK. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xiii+427. \$5.00.

Christianity and Politics. By ALBERT HYMA. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938. Pp. 329. \$3.00.

Education for Christian Marriage. Ed. by A. S. NASH, with a Foreword by the Archbishop of New York. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xvi+304. \$2.50.

Christianity and the Sex-Education of the African. Ed. by JAMES W. C. DOUGALL. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. Pp. 128. \$0.75.

Westermarck elected for his final book what is perhaps the most difficult task (save that of long-range prediction) which a sociologist can essay; namely, to disentangle from the complex fabric of history certain distinct strands of causality and to connect them with their effects. In this particular instance he sought to determine the effects of the Christian ethic. In doing so he carefully distinguishes between Christianity and Paulianity,

that is between the ethical implications of Jesus's teachings and the important changes which St. Paul imposed through his institutionalizing of this new religion, prescribing a polity, and providing patterns of administration. The first part of this work is a summary restatement of the author's earlier works on ethics and morals. The remainder of the book is an examination of Christianity in the light of these principles, with such touchstones, for instance, as his special definition of religion and of magic, their interrelations, the origin of religion, and of moral consciousness. Thus he starts with a definition of religion in the abstract as "a belief in and a regardful attitude towards a supernatural being on whom man feels most dependent and to whom he makes an appeal in his worship." Magic he holds to be attempts "to influence either natural or supernatural objects or persons by supernatural means which act mechanically and coercively." He sets down the origin of religion in fear and mystery, but the origin of moral concepts is traced to feelings of moral approval and moral disapproval or indignation, which is tantamount to saying that society is the birthplace of the moral consciousness. Gods are considered as centers of usefulness in the struggle for existence or as moral specialists, although religion and morals are not necessarily associated at all and, indeed, religious devotion may frequently be accompanied by great laxity of morals. Further Westermarck lays down the dictum that moral judgments have no objective validity because intellectual factors and emotions influence them, hence they cannot be universal. Starting with the concept that the ethics of Jesus are retributive and altruistic and that while Paul's conversion-vision affected his teaching, and while this teaching was in sharp contrast to Jesus's sayings, it was not unethical, Westermarck reviews the ethical manifestations of Christian doctrine in such matters as asceticism, the sacraments, the sanctity of human life, infant exposure, abortion, birth control, suicide, charity, economics, slavery, regard for truth, persecutions, sexual irregularity, monogamy, and natural science. Some idea of the author's attitude and conclusions may be gained by a selection of brief aphoristic statements. For example, "Out of this union between war and Christianity there was born that curious bastard, Chivalry." "War is the rock on which Christian principles have suffered the most miserable shipwreck." "Sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist are rooted in magical ideas." Christianity "inspired a greater regard for human life than was felt anywhere in pagan society." It cannot be denied that the kind of charity which was established by Christianity "suffered from grave defects in theory and practice and are utterly condemned by enlightened moral opinion." The teaching of Jesus can certainly not be recognized as applicable to economics. In his conflict with God Mammon has carried the day." "Christianity's acceptance of slavery belongs to its Jewish heritage." In spite of the general Christian condemnation of lying the "holy lie" was more or less fostered by Christian theology for "it was argued that an untruth is not a lie when there is a 'just cause' for it," which might be "zeal for God's honor." Early Christianity contained seeds productive of a persecuting spirit partly because "it accepted the divine authority of the Old

Testament." Westermarck denies "that the modern world owed its scientific spirit to the extreme importance which Christianity assigned to the possession of truth." Likewise he denies that it was Christianity that first introduced obligatory monogamy into Europe. In short he rejects the assumption that historical Christianity has been the main source of the moral development of Europe. In doing so he freely admits that his criticisms are not based upon any standard of moral objectivity because he maintains that there is no such standard since moral judgments rest ultimately upon the emotions. While this work bears evidence of wide and comprehensive reading, familiarity not only with the Bible but with centuries of theological writing, nevertheless by reason of the author's own presuppositions and methodology it cannot be said that he has brought the problem to a final issue; he has merely stated an opinion which the world may take or leave. But at least in this book he has given the lie to those silly charlatans who in the name of sociology have been attempting to forward a dubious kind of Marxianism and sexual freedom by branding Westermarck as the apologist for Victorian morality.

Hyma retells the story of the slow emergence of the modern secular political state from the medieval theocratic concepts and thus draws a significant parallel to the evolution of secular economics. His book was prepared originally as companion to the earlier volume, *Christianity, Capitalism and Communism*, and its plan follows essentially its original design. The work is marked by tolerance, clear scholarship, good writing, and abundant documentation. It is a real contribution to the social aspects of history. Both personalities and less personalized social forces are considered in discussing the relationship between church and state in the middle ages, the explosive Reformation, the rise of modern absolutism, and the secularization of politics. While most of the book is devoted naturally to movements in Europe, the author has added a worth-while coda on Christianity and democracy in the United States—that is, up to the early years of the nineteenth century.

The volume on *Education for Christian Marriage* edited by the Joint Secretary of the Church of England Moral Welfare Council is a significant symbol of a growing awareness that religious institutions must take increasing cognizance of sex and family problems. In a sense this book might be considered as an enlarged footnote to certain chapters in Westermarck's monograph. It is designed to provide the reader with a guide map which will enable him to see how far education for Christian marriage has proceeded. It also aims to provide criteria by which from the Christian's standpoint the flood of books pouring out on the subject of sex may be evaluated. It is a symposium but reaches a fair consensus of opinion. The various contributors to it agree that a right emotional attitude towards marriage together with a true evaluation of its significance is far more important than mere knowledge of sex facts. Likewise they agree in rejecting the attitude that all we should do is to trust nature or put our trust in a mere scientific knowledge of the biology of sex. Since some of the contributors come from outside the established church there is no agreement on the topic of birth control.

Nor is there any discussion as to the church's attitude towards divorced persons. The key idea of the whole book is that morality requires some higher sanction than mere biological utility and that Christianity offers no support to the theory that the purely natural fact of sexuality can be ennobled by the spiritual fact of love. The several chapters on preparation for marriage show close familiarity with such current writings as those of Exner, Van de Velde, and Helena Wright. Both sides of the birth control problem are well stated and a good summary of English family law is included. Perhaps English readers less than Americans need to be reminded that the "love" mouthed by thousands of radio crooners is nothing but sexual inclination and desire which know nothing of the faithfulness of real love.

The volume on *Christianity and the Sex-Education of the African* is another significant symposium, once more proving that English churchmen, whether at home or in the missionary field, are clearly aware that practical religion must come out of the cloister and deal authoritatively and understandingly with the problem of sex education. This little volume is wholesome and realistic. It frankly confesses the hitherto negative attitude of the church and why the church must modify its attitude, but it also relates the breakdown of tribal controls in Africa brought about by contact with European economic life as manifested chiefly in the present individualization of marriage by contrast with the traditional clan system of relationships, controls, and morality. While no attempt is made to set down any final dogmatic pattern of action, the net conclusion is that Christian missionary effort in Africa has an enhanced responsibility for attempting to amalgamate on some basis the old tribal controls with the moral ideals, religious teaching, and family patterns of Europe. While many of us will object to the implications that sex is "divinely ordained," we may at least state the aim of this body of Christian leaders in Africa, namely, "there can be no doubt that the missionary movement will do little to prevent the breakdown of African marriage and family-life unless it adopts fearless and imaginative attitudes to sex, and, by these or other means, shows quite plainly that it is not afraid to honor the reproductive functions as divinely ordained and necessary to its own spiritual health." This means, of course, that missionaries themselves must first acquire a proper understanding of the sex problem in order to be able to mediate it to their native communicants. It is for that reason that these recent symposia constitute at least a tribute to the awareness of and hence to the development of a realistic consideration of this whole problem of sex.

ARTHUR J. TODD

Northwestern University

Rassen- und Völkerkunde. Lebensprobleme der Russen, Gesellschaften und Völker. By WILHELM MÜHLMANN. Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1936. Pp. viii + 596. RM. 48.00.

For the long delay in reviewing this book my apologies are due, since the book would have received more respectful attention when published than

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now. That is not to say that Mühlmann is an apologist for Nazi racialist views, though not entirely free from Nordic idealizations. Rather, his basic thesis is that the biological approach is entirely inadequate to explain observed and even experimentally tested racial differences. The great questions of race psychology, race differences, race competition, and race in world politics are really questions of peoples rather than races; and they are intimately bound up with the whole history of the group life in its struggle for adaptation to its physical, political, and cultural environment. Even the questions of race crossing are in fact questions of the mixture of strains within a stream of cultural processes.

The kernel of the book is the study of *Siebung* and *Auslese*. The former means locality and social selection, the latter natural (lethal and reproductive). Locality selection results in the less endowed being pushed into poorer environments, i.e., horizontal mobility; social selection results in vertical (up-and-down) mobility. These processes are studied for a variety of cultures, with reference to several important institutions (church, school, family, political organization), a large part of the materials being drawn from researches by American sociologists, psychologists, and demographers. Race is defined as a social group having similar physical and psychological traits, which have been formed and are conserved by the two types of selection. Following a purely ethnological chapter on religious and cultist practices, there are four devoted to race psychology, racial contacts, and race in world politics. The author repeatedly recurs to the significance of folk culture in his discussion of researches designed to show differences in racial endowment. His extensive survey of race contacts, especially of Europeans with the native peoples of the Far East, Oceania, and Africa, carries as a minor note the doctrine that the native *Volkstum* (spirit of nationality) will reassert itself, in spite of extensive cultural diffusion and adoption, provided the native stock has not been too decimated. It follows, in his view, that instead of today being the "twelfth hour" of ethnology, a new and more fruitful era of ethnological study is just dawning.

Were one disposed he could find many points of disagreement on particular matters. The final chapters are less objective than the earlier ones; Nordic enthusiasm shows itself here and there (Germany, Great Britain, and the United States are the great Nordic nations); etc. On the whole, this is a book in which sociologists will find many interesting observations and a mass of interesting facts; but it is far from essential reading.

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

Moeurs et Coutumes des Fellahs. By HENRY HABIB AYROUT, S.J. Paris: Payot, 1938. Pp. 191. 25 frs.

This volume is one of a series to which contributions have been made by well-known writers in the field of prehistory and comparative religion.

In a preliminary review of books relating to the study of Egypt in the past decade, Professor Ayroun notes that, despite a satisfactory treatment

of history, economics, and scenic descriptions, authors have failed to do justice to the Fellahs. It is with the psychology and agrarian background of the Egyptian peasantry that the writer concerns himself, for he believes that the agrarian population has been an ethnological and psychological continuum from prehistoric times to the present day.

The Fellahin, who form three-fourths of the Egyptian population, have experienced many changes of government and have been subject to several major intrusions of foreigners—Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks, English, and French. The book offers, therefore, a study in social continuity and resistance to cultural change.

Geographical study centers naturally about the Nile, its inundations, soil analysis, and irrigation system. A brief outline of demography logically follows. A chart of infantile mortality is presented, and decline of polygamy is noted. Urban conditions are contrasted with the rural background to show that the educated and oligarchical classes of the towns have never left any lasting impression on the Fellahs. The subject of land ownership, rents, and taxes is discussed, and fortunately the reader is provided with a glossary, otherwise he would be lost in a maze of "feddans," "ardebbs," and "cantars." Space will not allow us to follow in detail through the able exposition of village organization, marriage, care of children, religion, and magical beliefs. At this point the author acknowledges the intensive personal research of Miss Winifred Blackman.

The weakest sections are those relating to physical anthropology and psychology. A greater number of pictures of physical types and, above all, a careful study of the craniometry of Egypt, as dealt with by K. Pearson and others in *Biometrika*, would have been far more effective than the comments and opinions that are offered. The psychology lacks definite quantitative and objective treatment. One can only be confused by conflicting opinions of observers, whose statements respecting character, emotions, and integrity are often contradictory.

In conclusion the author points out that there are two forms of poverty, one of the body and one of the soul. From the grosser and more palpable injustices of slavery and arbitrary death penalties the Fellahs are freed. But their attitudes toward the landowning classes show servility of mind, also a tragic ignorance and inertia which can be remedied only by education.

The book contains sixteen plates (32 photographs) and a bibliography, but unfortunately no index. As a textbook for students, both junior and advanced, the work is valuable, since it deals ably with modern problems of inertia and adaptation as factors in the history of culture contacts.

WILFRED DYSON HAMBLY

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago

Die afrikanische Seele. Erster Versuch einer afrikanischen Geistesgeschichte. By RICHARD KARUTZ. Basel: Rudolf Geering, 1938. Pp. 356. 12 Swiss frs.

The title of this analytical work is likely to arouse at once a very definite reaction of a critical kind. The connotation is so limitless in scope and so

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congested with detail that one's mind rather shrinks from the task of separating, aligning, and assessing the scientific data.

We anthropologists are probably all agreed that the main aim of intensive regional research is the accumulation of data from which general truths and principles can be constructed. The ambition is an old one, at least as old as Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, but we are far from realizing that ambition even today.

With the aims of Karutz, and with the nature of the factual material with which he deals, few will quarrel. He is led, as we supposed he might be, into a labyrinth of cosmology, folklore, magic, prayer, acts of medicine men, and ideas of deity. In tracing the origin, course, and destiny of the African soul the author takes us nimbly to all extremes of Negro Africa, from the Herero of the southwest to the far western Bambara and across to the Dschagga. Any soul, Bantu, Sudanic, Nilotic, or Hottentot, serves equally well.

I do not doubt that in the soul-beliefs, and in all the accessories of ritual and material pertaining thereto, there is much in common throughout the great area under review. But before we can sow the seed and harvest the grain we must clear the timber. I strongly feel that the clearance should take the form of a series of regional surveys, and the regions should have some cultural demarcation. Dr. Karutz omits, I think, the regional survey work of J. J. Williams in the series *Africa's God*. This work would have provided the right kind of geographical basis.

A fundamental difficulty of explaining concepts of the soul is that many tribes recognize multiple souls each having a specific origin, function, and fate. I feel that the author does not sufficiently stress this aspect of his problem. The bibliography contains about 160 titles, but I believe it omits the valuable works of Van Wing.

Devaluation is so much easier than construction, especially when a task of great magnitude has been attempted, that one feels some diffidence in taking up a critical attitude. Karutz has aided students by collating much relevant material, and failure to agree with the arrangement and clarification of the data may be entirely subjective.

WILFRED DYSON HAMBLY

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago

Das Eigentum auf den ältesten Stufen der Menschheit. Vol. I: *Das Eigentum in den Urkulturen*. By FATHER WILHELM SCHMIDT. Münster i.W.: Aschendorff, 1937. Pp. xii+343. RM. 13.00.

Schmidt starts a series of books on "property on the most ancient levels of mankind," and the first volume of this set is devoted to "property in the primeval cultures." These cultures he defines as belonging to tribes living on the "level of collectors" (p. 41). In fact, Father Schmidt deals mostly with tribes who use devices for hunting and catching animals and cannot be called "collectors." He seemingly is not aware that these devices represent a technique superior to collecting and imply sociologically important consequences.

The author's material has been drawn from various tribes: the Pigmies of the Congo, the Central Californians, the Salish and the Algonkin tribes of North America, the Fuego-Indians, the Bushmen and Bergdama of South Africa, the Southeast-Australians, and the Reindeer-Eskimo. The Kubu of Sumatra, the Veddas of Ceylon, and the Semang of Malaya are not mentioned. The conditions and the literature of each tribe are summarily described in an introduction to each chapter.

It is obvious that a distinction must be made between property in land and other ("movable") objects. The conditions of life among those tribes are, however, so different from ours that we should accurately discern them from the outset. Throughout the book Schmidt confuses private property in land with sovereign claims to it. Private property in land implies a power which protects it, i.e., a supreme authority like a king or an organized state. Such an authority is lacking in all "primeval cultures." It is the whole community that has authority over its land.

It is different with the "movable" property. But there are desirable further distinctions which Father Schmidt ignores. One kind of property should be set apart as "highly personal," i.e. objects which a man wears as clothes, ornaments, and weapons, or uses as certain utensils or instruments. Another kind of personal property of strongly personal character is that gained by a man's or woman's activity: property acquired by discovering fruit or a honey-nest, by catching or killing an animal. Different again from this kind of property are the belongings of a family. The disposal of them implies all the members' consent.

The reviewer agrees fully with Father Schmidt in combating unilinear evolutionism. But Father Schmidt replaces it by unilinear and mechanic sequence of his "cultural circles." This is not much better. We need an *analysis* of the forming forces of culture and its constituents, e.g., of property. The reviewer tried to do that in first line by separating the "accumulative" process from other phenomena (cf. this *Review* Vol. I, No. 3, 1936).

The importance of the book lies in the material accumulated in it and, to a certain extent, in the criticism of previous literature which is reviewed. If Father Schmidt had ever had the experience of living among some of the tribes with whom he is dealing, he would have felt the inconsistencies of his theories.

R. THURNWALD

University of Berlin

Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie. By FATHER WILHELM SCHMIDT. Münster i.W.: Aschendorff, 1937. Pp. xvi+338. RM. 9.40.

Methodik der Völkerkunde. By WILHELM MÜHLMANN. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1939. Pp. vii+275. RM. 15.80.

Both these volumes under consideration deal with the question of how to approach the almost inexhaustible stores of ethnology. They diverge in

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their aims and in their manner of investigation. Father Schmidt wants to see ethnology (or "cultural anthropology") treated from a merely historical-antiquarian point of view, while Mühlmann stresses its sociological importance.

The first book culminates in a glorification of the *Kulturkreislehre* of Graebnerian creed as propagated thirty-five years ago, and is practically a commentary to Graebner's *Methode*. This method was later reformed by Father Schmidt by arraying the *Kulturkreise* (cultural circles) in a certain sequence of time. That heuristic hypothesis was called the *kulturhistorische Methode*. The hypothesis, however, was sternly maintained as an unflinching ethnological dogma, and all unfaithful were ostracized; in fact, no doubts were raised, theories were simply accepted.

The present book does not mean any deviation from the former course. But it is queer to note that the sequence of the cultural circles ultimately coincides with the old-styled unilinear evolution which Father Schmidt ardently tried to combat. Though Father Schmidt emphasizes the historical character of ethnology, he does not seem to be conscious of the uniqueness of historical configurations. Otherwise he would not undertake to construe historical patterns. In using the word *Entwicklung* and opposing it to "evolution," Father Schmidt puts a puzzle that only mystics can solve.

Admittedly, ethnological material is chiefly historical. But should investigation therefore be prohibited to go beyond the antiquarian borderline? Indians, Polynesians, Africans, American Negroes, etc., are in a state of rapid transition and acculturation to-day. Should we skip over these phenomena of the most urgent practical importance? We are living in a time of rapid social transmutation everywhere and ought to observe all the phenomena under a wide aspect: not only what was, but also what may be, and how to direct the growing renovation of the world.

No doubt, there are interesting passages in Schmidt's book, and every student of anthropology will read with much advantage what is said about criteria for estimating and interpreting ethnological data. These parts of the book, augmented by Father Koppers' contributions, should be read by all writers on ethnological subjects. Unfortunately, ethnology is not exhausted by scholastic finesse and its problems are not consumed within this boundary. Are sociological processes negligible? They seem to me of the highest importance for the composition and change of cultures (as the writer tried to show in articles of this *Review* Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4, 1936, and Vol. II, No. 1, 1937). Causal connections in sociological events are ignored. Conditions in different countries and among different tribes lead to similar results; e.g., change into military organization after the pattern of a former clan organization among the Zulus of South Africa late in the eighteenth century (King Chaka) and among the Mandju of Siberia a few centuries earlier.

Father Schmidt discusses causality, it is true, but what he says is not more than an abstract classification of "external" factors (climate, natural surroundings) and "internal" factors (personal contact, contact of tribes, migration, extension of domination, making converts of religious bodies,

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radiation from cultural centres). It seems as if he would feel some inhibition to approach sociological or psychological problems. This is detrimental to his work especially since he lacks personal experience of human life with any tribe he discusses.

Mühlmann's *Methodik* is quite a different book. It is more modern and more to the point; it really tries to consider the problem of method in ethnology. It starts with a broad historical survey of anthropological authors from antiquity through the Middle Ages up to the present day. There follows a discussion of anthropological research and its methodological implications; this constitutes the bulk of the volume.

Mühlmann's ethnological thinking starts from the natural sciences and biology. Fundamentally, however, differences do not exist. History embodies complex cases that can be analyzed into more general facts and recurring processes which sociology registers. Everything that happens enters into history. Ethnology, of course, forms part of history. From its material, sociological and psychological generalizations and repetitions can be induced, and thus be made valuable for planning and action. Consequently, ethnology cannot be limited to merely antiquarian interest (as Father Schmidt wants), more especially since the tribes, to whom we devote ethnological studies, are our living contemporaries and have entered into vital interaction with us and our changing world.

In discussing ethnological data, Mühlmann stresses the distinction between "intentional" and "functional" material. He considers as *intentional* the ideas existing in a community about how things should be (e.g. moral and other laws, avoidances, the theory of institutions), or how they are supposed to be (e.g. opinions why a man has died, how rain happens to come, what a man wants to achieve), or how they perhaps have been (e.g. myths, historical legends, stories about heroes). All these attitudes of mind are as real and effective as, and sometimes even more than, the *functional* data: the actual happenings or achievements, utensils, weapons, the harvest, the prey brought home, the man who has died.

The reciprocal donations between the chiefs and the members of a community or various communities are functions of great importance: a network of social relations is constantly made felt by them. This network is founded on the intentional obligations to conform with moral laws. When a class of people (e.g., an aristocracy or a chief) for some reason does not conform with the reciprocal exchange system, it may alter its functions. Later, perhaps, the (intentional) theories will change in order to conform to the new state of affairs; or, on the other hand, a new law may gradually change functional behavior. New volitions or occurrences are stimulated by divergence between intentions and functions.

While Father Schmidt is anxious to restrict ethnology to the past of some races, Mühlmann wants to extend it over all human existence. We are living in an unexplored ethnological world, he says. Ethnology and its psychological interpretation begins with our neighbor, and from next door we may touch the next town, the next nation, and so until we land with the Fuegians, or the Aztecs, or in the excavated cultures of Greece, Babylon,

or the early Stone Age. Personal contact is, of course, the most desirable means for comprehending functions and intentions in a community; written words or pictures may replace it to a limited extent; monuments of stone or other relics permit only a dim peep into a strange world.

The contact of cultures cannot be observed in abstraction but must take the human side of an "ethnos" into consideration. Cultural contact is essentially a psychological affair. Each "ethnos" assumes a certain attitude towards the other (as particularly in colonial contact between Europeans or Americans and "natives"). The result of such a collective attitude is a collective response. The collective response is interpreted by each party as the particular "character" of the other. This "character," however, is due to the special situation. In extreme cases it may be a character of "inferiority" or of "superiority" and imply "compensations." These acquired attitudes belong to the most serious phenomena in the intercourse between races and nations. They may become responsible for terrible emotions that inspire revolutions or wars.

A few features of Mühlmann's *Methodik* have been mentioned as examples of the author's mode of interpreting sociological and psychological phenomena. His concept of ethnology embraces the sequence of peoples and nations all over the world in their conditions, ethnic configurations, and dynamics, and considers their psychological complexities. The concise book is full of ideas and will make stimulating reading for sociologists and anthropologists.

R. THURNWALD

University of Berlin

The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology. By FATHER WILHELM SCHMIDT, preface by Clyde Kluchhohn, translated by S. A. Sieber. New York: Fortuny's, 1939. Pp. xxx+383. \$5.00.

This work, a translation of Father Schmidt's *Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie*, published in Austria in 1937, is the first modernized and extended statement, in English, of the views of a leading exponent of the *Kulturkreis* school. As such, the volume should receive a place on the shelves of every field worker dealing with problems of diffusion. Compared with the lavish amount of material available on the pan-Egyptian hypothesis, a hypothesis which is amateurish in comparison with the more scientifically conceived *Kulturkreis* theory, the latter has received but trifling and often biased attention. The enormous ethnological literature produced by followers of the *Kulturkreis* school remains largely untranslated, and is represented in English only by two compressed works of Schmidt's dealing with primitive religion and not primarily devoted to the *Kulturkreis* method. The present volume remedies this condition in part, but by no means completely.

The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology serves to bring Graebner's *Methode der Ethnologie* down to date with further developments in the logistic field drawn from the later contributions of Schmidt, Pinard de la Boullaye, Koppers, and others. It contains a critique of the evolutionary method in ethnology, and a sketch of the development of the German

historical school. In addition, there is a full exposition of the various criteria used in the establishment of the relative age, distribution, and origin of the cultural "circles" recognized by Schmidt and his colleagues. Not least among significant items, which should be very advantageous to the student, is a clear and concise presentation of the differences between Schmidt's idea of the culture "circle" and the American concept of the culture area. In fact the student will readily grasp in Schmidt's presentation one of the main limitations of the culture area concept—its purely descriptive quality and lack of historical depth.

Prehistory, somatology, and the position of psychology in relation to ethnology also receive passing attention. The work is extremely erudite, heavily annotated, and, at times, sharply controversial in tone. It suffers in spots from the sort of condensation which makes Schmidt's other translated work, *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, somewhat difficult to read. Too much has been covered in too little space. Part of this difficulty, no doubt, arises from the fact that most American readers are unfamiliar with large portions of the bibliography included, and have not had the opportunity to study in detail the actual field application of the expounded methodology of the *Kulturkreis* followers. Inadequately represented in English, the work of so prolific a writer as Schmidt must necessarily suffer from fragmentary presentation, even in the present volume.

The *Kulturkreis* school has been far more successful in the elaboration of logistic rules for the investigation of culture than in the practical application of these devices. This, at least, would be the conclusion of most North American ethnologists. Yet until more of these studies are effectively translated into English, we stand in danger of making snap judgments. American scientists are, to a large extent, handicapped by the lack of ability to use foreign languages with ease and fluency, and it is no wonder that their excursions into the method and theory of the *Kulturkreis* school have tended, with one or two distinguished exceptions, to be superficial. What we need now, and what it is to be hoped the publishers of the present work will see fit to encourage, is the translation of other works in which the methodology has been applied to given problems. Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* might be a case in point, along with a full exposition of Schmidt's world classification of cultures—matters touched on only in passing, in the present work.

Schmidt's elucidation of the criteria for the study of diffusion is excellent, and it is surprising to see how many of his logistic concepts are commonplace in North American ethnology but have simply failed to be systematically or formally expressed. Irrespective of the acceptance or rejection of Schmidt's own schemes of culture stratification, we owe him a debt for the excellent organization and presentation of his basic methodology. Much of the latter is thoroughly acceptable, even though we may justly feel that, in practice, the *Kulturkreis* followers have failed signally, at times, in applying their own criteria with discernment. The author's statement that "for the culture historical method there are almost no lengths of spatial distance, nor any spans of temporal duration which it cannot bridge with the means at its disposal" (p. 173) may suggest the synthesizing ambi-

tions of this school, as well as the dangers inherent in it. Nevertheless Schmidt defends his position sturdily: "The attempt at world-wide synthetic researches must be made from time to time, because many cultural connections are only thus brought to light, or, at any rate, an exact and comprehensive understanding of the problem is obtained" (p. 205).

The reviewer feels that the criteria of form and quantity which are basic to the culture historical method have not always been applied with care. Superficial similarities have been accepted too readily as revealing genetic relationship, even in cases where formidable geographic barriers intervene between the peoples in question. There has been, perhaps, too much emphasis on a rigid schematic structure in which individual variability and originality have been lost from sight. Nevertheless, even with a complete recognition of the strictures laid against the *Kulturkreislehre* by many American students, its intensely stimulating approach and the broad scholarship of its advocates make it worthy of thoughtful consideration and friendly criticism. At a time when so much of the best in European thought and culture seems threatened with annihilation, it is heartening to find an American publisher preserving for the English-speaking world this work of an eminent and respected European scholar. Wilhelm Schmidt has served anthropology long and well, both as editor of *Anthropos* and as a researcher in his own right. Whether or not there is complete agreement with that school of thought of which he is the most distinguished living exponent, a knowledge of his work is indispensable to all students of culture.

LOREN C. EISELEY

University of Kansas

History and Science. By HUGH MILLER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. x+201. \$2.00.

The Historical Method in Social Science. By M. M. POSTAN. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 38. \$0.50.

The first of these books is made up of a series of essays on the interrelation of history, science, philosophy, and religion, and the bearing of all of them on the destiny of progress and democracy. Part I deals with the theory of history, Darwinism, and history and physical science. Part II treats of the relation between philosophy, logic, and history. Part III discusses the evolutionary view of nature, attacks dialectical philosophy, inspects the theory of progress, and estimates the prospect of the success of democracy.

The work is highly abstract and quasi-speculative, and the intellectual position taken is a cross between a curiosity and a paradox. There is a general attempt to vindicate evolutionary philosophy and to justify its extension from biology to the study of society. Yet the author is a devout religionist in his historical philosophy: "When we look back over the social and intellectual evolution of the last twenty-five hundred years, the largest pattern of fact that meets our eye is a religious pattern. The evolution of

the West, including its scientific and political progress, falls within the progress of religious insight."

While defending the dominion of empirical science, Miller comes out for social obscurantism and the wisdom of the humble man on the street: "The living world is still an unknown; and the humble man, the devout man, the man on the street may be incomparably wiser than the scientist or the doctrinaire. It is in that common wisdom, pervasive of humanity at large, that democracy puts its trust." The author fails to stress the fact that this may be just the reason that democracy is today in greater eclipse and jeopardy than at any other time in the last half-century.

Postan is the successor to Cunningham and Clapham in the chair of economic history at Cambridge University. In this inaugural lecture he defines the scope and problems of history and its relation to other social sciences. He thus distinguishes between the conventional history and the "new history": "Whereas antiquarians collect facts historians study problems." Postan's discussion of economics is cogent and informed, but his contemptuous attitude towards sociology is compounded of jaundice and ignorance. He has obviously not kept in touch with the progress of sociology since the Spencerian stage of the development of that social science.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, N. Y.

Contribution à l'étude de la Mode à Paris. By MICHÈLE BEAULIEU. Paris: Librairie R. Munier, 1936. Pp. 196. 35 frs.

Le Rôle Intellectuel du Cinéma. By A. ARNHEIM, A. ARNOUX, A. CONSIGLIO, et al. Paris: Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1937. Pp. 289. 50 frs.

Beaulieu's volume appeals primarily to the specialists in history of styles and fashions, and secondarily to sociologists interested in the changes in and appreciations of art forms as far as these reveal the spirit of their time. It is confined to the fashions of Paris under Louis XIII covering the period of 1610 to 1643 when the styles of the French capital had already attained a high degree of elegance and refinement. Beaulieu justifies his attention to this period also on the ground that the legal distinctions between the bourgeoisie and nobility in regard to the forms of dress ceased to exist, and consequently the aristocracy began to determine the fashions to be copied. Yet for some time the bourgeoisie followed the ancient traditions in the materials as well as the styles. The treatment is clear, direct, and interesting, and it follows chronologically the innovations year by year. The statements are well documented with references to the original manuscripts, marriage contracts, and personal inventories of persons of quality. A glossary, rich bibliography, and fifteen photographic plates follow the text.

The intellectual role of the movies is the subject of one of the three volumes published by the International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation, the other two being on the press and on the radio. This undertaking

may be traced to the Congress on Educational Movies held in Rome in 1934. The purpose of this particular volume is to give an appraisal by competent persons in each of the eleven countries, all of which are European except the United States, of the influence of the movies upon public taste. The historical development of the industry, its organization and short-comings, necessary remedies, and means of bringing about cooperation between the artists and technicians, and better relations among the peoples are discussed. The first part of the book is historical and covers a period of forty-two years. Most prominence is given to France, Germany, Russia, and the United States. Other countries receiving attention are Italy, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Great Britain. The second part constitutes a series of eleven short articles on the influence and importance of the film industry upon public opinion from the viewpoint of the film industry. It is therefore apologetic of the existing practices and descriptive rather than analytical. An objective sociological study of the subject would require a more systematic and intensive treatment.

JACOB HORAK

Heidelberg College

A History of Mexico. By H. B. PARKES. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1938. Pp. xii+432, pls. 16. \$3.75.

The Coming Struggle for Latin America. By CARLETON BEALS. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938. Pp. 401. \$3.00.

These two books are answers to the growing interest in Latin American affairs. Parkes reviews the social history of Mexico under the successive Indian, Spanish, and Republican administrations. Beals estimates the nature of the conflict between the political, economic, and social forces involved in modern Latin America. Both writers stress the important fact that the Southern Republics are so merely in name. A democratic republic like the United States exists nowhere south of the Rio Grande, where political control is essentially oligarchic and military.

Beals has set himself the more difficult task since economics, government, and society are in a state of flux. To describe the results of a conflict between such rapidly changing forces is an impossible task, but the author's journalistic acumen is evident, if his analyses are occasionally oversimplified. Parkes, working on a historical basis and fortified by a singularly lucid style, clarifies the history of Mexico so that a person unacquainted with the endemic problems can see what they really are. I know of no better introduction to the basic problems of the Latin American scene than this broadly sketched history of Mexico.

G. C. VAILLANT

American Museum of Natural History

Early Ionian Historians. By LIONEL PEARSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939. Pp. iv+240. \$5.00.

The Life of Greece. By WILL DURANT. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1939. Pp. xviii+758. \$3.95.

Hellenic History. By GEORGE W. BOTSFORD and CHARLES A. ROBINSON, JR. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+398. \$4.50.

Von Homer bis Sokrates. By THEODOR BIRT. Leipzig: Verlag Quelle & Meyer, 15th and 16th thousand, 1937. Pp. 479. RM. 3.20.

Paideia, The Ideals of Greek Culture. By WERNER JAEGER, translated from the 2nd German ed. by Gilbert Highet. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939. Pp. xxix+420. 15s.

The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle. 2 vols. By ROBERT J. BONNER and GERTRUDE SMITH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. 399; vii+320. Vol. I, \$4.00; Vol. II, \$3.50.

Der Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt. By WILHELM NESTLE. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1938. Pp. 79. RM. 1.25.

Demosthenes. By WERNER JAEGER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938. Pp. x+273. \$2.50.

It can be said with some confidence that much more is known about certain aspects of Greek culture than of many phases of the supposedly better illuminated development of Western Europe since the so-called Fall of Rome. The work of the archaeologists since 1875, the discovery of Greek papyri in Egypt by Grenfell and Hunt, increasing facility in the deciphering of inscriptions, and the analysis of vase paintings have all contributed to the knowledge gleaned from the documents *per se*. Unfortunately, the wane of interest in the study of Greek life set in at just the time when these vast stores of information were becoming generally available. The result has been that the greater number of American social scientists harbor the opinion that the study of Greek life is bound to be barren of anything but edification; they think in terms of dusty plaster busts and random quotations from Homer. Slowly—oh, so slowly!—this antiquated viewpoint is yielding to one more consonant with the facts, but much still remains to be done. It is eminently respectable to spend half a lifetime in the study of some insignificant tribelet having no demonstrable connections with the culture of the Western world, but preoccupation with things Greek is thought to be direct evidence of a sickly estheticism or a failure to concentrate on "genuine research." Year after year we turn out dissertations establishing correlations between the number of bath-tubs and the amount of juvenile delinquency in Oskaloosa without feeling at all apologetic. Why? Because of our rampant "raw empiricism" and lamentable lack of historical sophistication.

We glibly call Herodotus "The Father of History," even though our acquaintance with the gentleman is limited to a page or two in a high school textbook. Of the fact that he built upon a fund of information gleaned by a whole school of historians we are blithely ignorant. A good antidote would be the reading of Pearson's *Early Ionian Historians*. Here we have spread before us a lengthy roster of men who journeyed throughout all the Near East, and who set down their observations in writings of which

many fragments survive. Hecataeus of Miletus and Hellanicus of Lesbos are but two of the "tale-makers" upon whom Herodotus drew for his ethnographic data. Although somewhat too detailed for the general reader, Pearson's study proves up to the hilt the contention that Herodotus was no isolated figure, but rather a synthesizing genius who utilized the researches of others as well as the knowledge gleaned from his own extensive travels. If we are interested in culture contact, why should we confine ourselves to illustrations gained from the Navaho and the Hopi? If we seek light on diffusion, why should we peer into the darkness of preliterate cultures when the early phases of our own civilization lie in the morning glow of the Greek records? No disparagement of current ethnology is intended by these remarks; we need all the information we can get. But while we are gathering sawdust and shavings, why not get a few chips as well?

Perhaps a relatively painless method of surveying the field of Greek life would be to follow the path blazed by Will Durant. This writer, for all his popularization, is not to be sneered at in the manner all too common among the professorial guild. Granted that he does not soar so high that only those equipped with the oxygen outfit of monographic research can follow him; granted that he occasionally smirks at an audience eager for scandalous tidbits; granted that he sometimes indulges in epigrams that verge on the Broadway wisecrack—but should a few venial sins altogether bar him from salvation? The present reviewer has read a great many surveys in this field, and he says without reservation that Durant has no superior where the intelligent general reader is concerned. Most of us, after all, are general readers, no matter how many academic baubles we have pinned to our names.

Some evidence of these assertions is provided by Botsford and Robinson's *Hellenic History*. This is a good textbook, well printed, well illustrated, and well written, but it does not evidence so great a degree of profundity that it should be preferred to the Durant volume. Beyond question Botsford and Robinson are scholars pre-eminent in their field, but monographic pre-eminence is one thing; synthetic presentation is another. Further, the writers just mentioned do not evidence the realism that Durant, as an outsider, brings to the subject. If one were to judge solely by the Botsford and Robinson discussion, the Greeks were animated statues with a flawless perfection transcending the limitations of the merely human. Written with a reverence almost religious, the book leaves one with the feeling that the writers are so in love with the civilization they depict that objective judgment is cast into the discard.

Another excellent survey by a sort of German Durant is Birt's book on the period from Homer to Socrates. The style is truly distinguished—a comment that cannot be often made about German writing. The book is well illustrated in rotogravure, the paper is good, and the binding excellent. Moreover, there are fairly adequate notes and a good index.

To the scholar, much of what has been said above will remain quite unconvincing. Well and good. Let him turn to Werner Jaeger's compre-

hensive digest of the significant elements of Greek civilization, organized around the idea of "culture" in its more limited, traditional sense. Jaeger is one of the world's greatest Hellenists, author of numerous monographs of high repute. Even this specialist, however, felt the need for an appeal to a wider public, and making due allowance for the nature of the German audience to which he initially addressed himself and occasional infelicities in translation, it may be said that the appeal is one to which response should be forthcoming. Jaeger's work, altogether apart from the prestige evoked by his authority, has an advantage not possessed by any of the books previously mentioned; namely, the deeper penetration made possible by the German philosophic and sociological training he has received. On almost every page is to be encountered a striking generalization that should at least prove suggestive to specialized researchers engaged in one or another phase of culture case study. There are no illustrations or detailed notes, but typography, binding, and indexing are up to par if not above it.

Turning from the general to the particular, Bonner and Smith, with their study of the administration and justice from Homer to Aristotle, claim our attention. Volume I is a survey of the whole scope of Greek law, abounding in detailed references and other scholarly apparatus. It provides much evidence for Vinogradoff's and Glotz's thesis that Greek legal developments were from *themis* (intraclan law), to *dike* (interclan law), to *nomos* (intercity and international law). There is much more than this, of course, in Volume I, but for many sociologists this will seem the most significant contribution. Volume II is less sweeping, taking up as it does such topics as the professional informer, oaths, witnesses, special pleas, and arbitration. Nevertheless the sociological utility of Volume II is likely to be quite as great as that of Volume I. Much loose talk about the nature of Athenian democracy, for example, would be embarrassing to its perpetrators if they were confronted with the evidence that Athenian democracy was really a kind of booty capitalism fostered by a group of citizens who regarded their citizenship simply as a means of laying claim to the spoils of imperialism. Further, Volume II makes very evident the fact that any legal system does not go far beyond its basis in the general social controls of the society in question. It is quite impossible to understand the Greek legal system without knowledge of Greek mores, political organization, and religious sanctions. As usual, the University of Chicago Press has provided suitable costume for its product, and the writers have furnished several excellent indices.

An interesting supplement to Volume I of Bonner and Smith is provided by Nestle's study of the idea of peace in the Greco-Roman World. Confining ourselves to the Greek phenomena, Nestle clearly demonstrates that the expansion of the area within which peace is believed to be possible goes hand in hand with changes in the Greek conception of law. When the stage of intercity and international law is reached, there is the simultaneous emergence of a conception of a peace extending over the whole known world. In other words, ideas of natural law and of the possibility of the pacific adjustment of disputes develop concomitantly.

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This conclusion perhaps throws new light on the activity of Demosthenes. Jaeger's study of this upholder of Greek particularism is characterized by a curious set of internal contradictions. Manifestly Jaeger has profound sympathy for Demosthenes' attempt to preserve Athens against the inroads of the hard-bitten Macedonians of the north, strangers to the finer things in Greek life. At the same time, however, Jaeger is compelled reluctantly to concede that the spread of the Greek culture ushered in by the conquests of Philip and Alexander immeasurably extended the intellectual as well as the spatial horizon of Greek and barbarian alike. Here again we have the conflict between local loyalties and the call of a wider world. One may be permitted to suspect that the Hellenistic period was not so empty of great achievements as the upholders of "The Fifth, Greatest of Centuries" would have us believe. Certain it is that if the inclusion of ever greater portions of mankind within an area of common understanding is a value, Demosthenes' defeat is not to be too keenly regretted. Here we are in the realm of value-judgments, but that social scientist is poor indeed who does not occasionally allow his thoughts to drift, in either past or present, to questions relating to man's ultimate social destiny.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States, 1815-1860.

By SISTER MARY GILBERT KELLY, O.P. New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1939. Pp. ix+290. \$3.00.

This historical monograph not only offers a welcome extension of our knowledge of immigration history in relation to "second frontier" settlement, but it is sociologically significant in the attention it calls to the element of direction or organized colonization in such settlement, or as the case may be, resettlement. Such settlement was not uninfluenced by nativist intolerance of a religious minority. The study is thoroughly objective, scholarly and adequately documented.

WILLIAM C. LEHMANN

Syracuse University

Refugees (The Annals, Vol. 203). Ed. by FRANCIS J. BROWN. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1939. Pp. xvi+271. \$2.00.

You and the Refugee. By NORMAN ANGELL and DOROTHY F. BUXTON. New York: Penguin Books, 1939. Pp. 288. \$0.25 (paper).

This *Refugee* number of *The Annals* offers, along with Simpson's book,¹ the most satisfactory orientation available to the whole present-day refugee problem. Many of the authors speak from intimate "participant" acquaintance with their subject. The twenty-two articles appear under the following

¹ Sir John Hope Simpson, *Refugees—Preliminary Report of a Survey*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

heads: Underlying Factors; The Present Problem; The Human Side of the Problem; Possible Ways Out. There is an annotated bibliography of 107 titles. Among the more informing articles are: "Extent and Nature of the Refugee Problem" and "Refugees in Europe," both by Walter Adams; "Private and Governmental Aid of Refugees," by Erika Mann and Eric Estorick; and "Refugee Settlement in Latin America," by S. G. Inman. Among the more illuminating are "The Refugee Speaks," by Eduard Heimann, and "Starting Life Anew in a Strange Country," by Hertha Kraus.

Norman Angell's pamphlet is an appeal to the British throughout the Empire, but also to Americans, timely up to August, 1939, to change their alien-admission policy to meet the crisis of the Jews and others who are fighting the battles of democracy in Central Europe. This plea for refuge and permanent resettlement aid is made not only on moral grounds, supported by intimate accounts of refugee plight, but also on economic grounds. Such a controlled "quality" immigration, far from adding to unemployment—a "murderous fallacy"—may yet prove, Angell believes, the only road to the economic salvation of countries with a dangerously declining or at least as insufficient population. Hence to refuse aid in this growing crisis is to commit moral and material suicide.

WILLIAM C. LEHMANN

Syracuse University

Environment, Race and Migration; Fundamentals of Human Distribution: with Special Sections on Racial Classification; and Land Settlement in Canada and Australia. By GRIFFITH TAYLOR. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. xv+483, 158 figs., 2 pls. \$4.00.

Environment, Race and Migration is a new and expanded presentation of the same author's *Environment and Race* which first appeared in 1927. There are a hundred new or revised maps and diagrams, five new chapters on the geography of Canada and the settlement of the Dominion, and the section devoted to Australia has been increased by two chapters. It is untrue, however, to call this a revision, as Professor Taylor claims, if by that term one means the elimination of doubtful or still unproved evidence and the addition of genuine new knowledge. The main portion of the work deals with the evolution and dispersion of the races of man, and of any real addition to the author's knowledge of anthropology there is none.

Those who read the first edition will long ago have come to their own conclusions as to the worth, or lack of it, which characterizes Taylor's studies in anthropology. The critically minded will find nothing new to alter their original doubts or reservations. Those who accepted the conclusions of the first edition will likewise have no cause to change their minds—but for a different reason. Like Professor Taylor they must have simple and absolute answers to complex problems; they believe with him that the least common denominators for all anthropological fractions are few in number and small in size. Answers to the problems of when, where, and

how both fossil and modern races arose are fully set out. The chapters are studded with points which are emphasized by setting them in italics and yet a little close attention to the text reveals a surprising number of adverbial or other modifiers; "probably," "mostly," "perhaps" are thickly strewn about. The total impression is of an original and alert mind working in a partial vacuum, uncritical and not really sure of its control of those anthropological facts which have been allowed to seep in. In no other manner can one charitably account for the captiousness with which some anthropological "authorities" are used as witnesses, others of equal or greater merit completely ignored.

One further word with regard to the "message" which the book professes to bear. In the concluding paragraph we read, "The foregoing study is an attempt to investigate some of these ethnological and economic problems. If it helps, in however small a degree, to promote the brotherhood of man, the writer's main object will have been accomplished." This ill accords with the repeated assertions anent "higher" and "lower" races, the Alpines or Alpine-Mongolians being notably "high" and the Negroids definitely "low." The Negroid people are not to be blamed for this—they represent the evolutionary stage which sprang from the Neanderthaloids, were caught or remained in a stagnant tropical environment, one with a temperature above 53° F., and have thus persisted for countless millennia. Practically no hope of biological salvation is held out to them, except as they may be absorbed racially by the yellow-white races of man. One cannot question Professor Taylor's faith or his hopes, but no amount of scientific charity will serve to condone loose and inadequate thinking.

THEODORE D. McCOWN

University of California

Plant and Animal Communities. Ed. by THEODOR JUST. Notre Dame, Ind.: The University Press, 1939. Pp. ii+255. \$2.50.

Of Ants and Men. By CARYL P. HASKINS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. x+244. \$2.75.

Only in that both deal with ecological considerations do these books even vaguely resemble each other. The monograph edited by Just is so "scientific" as to be meaningful only to specialists in biology, while the Haskins work is so "popular" that it was a Scientific Book Club selection. The former treatise contains between stiff covers a series of ten papers presented in 1938 at the Conference on Plant and Animal Communities, held at Cold Spring Harbor, reprinted from *The American Midland Naturalist* for January, 1939. N. Tinbergen's analysis of social organization among vertebrates may suggest counterparts among human vertebrates, and population experts may find Thomas Park's report valuable. The other papers will not interest sociologists; hence, we "go to the ant," sluggards that we are.

Ants so closely parallel men in their social lives that Haskins is searching for a "fundamental significance." He thus attempts to "humanize" ant

societies without falling into the criminal error of hopeless anthropomorphism" (p. 5). In the first endeavor he succeeds remarkably well; not so in the second. Fascinating comparisons are made between ants and men in their history, cities, reproductive functions, systems of government, war, and slavery; and this is all very well until we learn that ants are "loyal," that they labor under a force which may be called "social pressure," and that they do various things "in order to" achieve some purpose. Haskins has failed to go to the mouse and the monkey when he says that brains of men surpass those of other vertebrates in relation to the bulk of the body (p. 56); and any amateur geneticist would challenge his sweeping generalization that "the most outstanding members of our society are characterized by attempts to succeed brilliantly in both social and reproductive spheres," and that the result "often shows itself in an inferior social and bodily endowment of the succeeding generation" (p. 148). The factual descriptions of ant life, however, are no doubt thoroughly accurate.

The index would be of more use to the layman if not so technical; somehow *Acanthomyops*, *Bothriomyrmex decapitans*, *Carebara vidua*, and their "fellow-travellers" seem to be crawling over the place.

STEUART HENDERSON BRITT

The George Washington University

Social and Economic History of Germany 1888-1938. By W. F. BRUCK. Cardiff, Wales: University Press Board, Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. xv+292. \$4.50.

The Economics of a Declining Population. By W. B. REDDAWAY. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 270. \$2.50.

The first volume attempts to trace and analyze the political, economic, and cultural forces which culminated in the unique social system of the Third Reich. The period from 1888 to 1938 is dealt with in special detail and a vast amount of material has been sifted and interpreted in the writing of this book. It must be recorded that Bruck has brought a comprehensive and objective scholarship to bear on this task in a most effective manner.

The general thread of historical continuity which binds the Third Reich to earlier Germany is that of German Nationalism, which in the nineteenth century found expression in Mercantilism in economic affairs and politically in the common acceptance of individual subjection to the State. Even alien doctrines such as Socialism, Communism, and Christianity were bent to the service of the State.

In terms of the author's analysis, Germany shifted from an agrarian to an industrial nation during the nineteenth century, but developed within a unique pattern of strictly limited competition which was established by law and enforced by the Public Administration service of the State. Banks were allied with industries and both phases of the national economy were closely supervised by the government. Vast cartels and trusts arose as an evidence of the genius of the German people for organization and technical efficiency as well as of the opportunism of her bourgeois business leaders.

Price fixing, a managed currency, and arbitrary regulation of currency were not shocking ideas or practices to industrialists, bankers, or workers of the post-war era in Germany.

One could wish for more material on the social and cultural aspects of Germany's history from 1888 to 1938, but the author makes out a convincing case for interpreting National Socialism as the historically logical sequel to previous events.

The second volume is an "if" book in that Reddaway raises questions concerning the economy of England *if* the population of that country enters a period of long-run decline. In common with many population specialists, the author is of the opinion that a marked decline will take place in the absolute size of England's population within thirty years. He offers as an indication of this prospect the fact that the net reproductive rate in both England and Wales has already fallen below unity. Also, a sharp reduction in the specific fertility of females has far-reaching results on the age composition of the population. The author centers his analysis on the probable economic consequences of this shift in age-composition and on the reduction in absolute size of the population.

The analysis is presented in terms of the effects of the predicted population changes on unemployment, both particular and general, on capital outlay, on the national income both as to size and distribution, on the need for social security payments by the government, and on international trade. The entire presentation presupposes the retention of a considerable degree of competition in the spheres of business and finance, a market, individual freedom to dispose of income, and no remarkable increase in income taxes or death duties.

Space forbids an itemized statement of the results which Reddaway realizes through his application of the method of economic analysis, but one must note that the author concludes that the results of the population changes on the economy of England possibly will be less serious than might be expected. None, he believes, of the anticipated problems are beyond the reach of intelligent statesmanship *unless* war enters the picture. This book was completed in March, 1939. Notwithstanding this ironic touch, the volume offers an extremely acute and able utilization of *a method* whereby social science may serve the society which hopefully nurtures it.

JAMES H. BARNETT

University of Connecticut

Anglo-Saxony and Its Tradition. By GEORGE CATLIN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+344. \$3.00.

History of the London County Council, 1889-1939. By SIR GWILYM GIBBON and REGINALD W. BELL. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1939. Pp. xxi+696. \$7.00.

An American finds it difficult to understand to what audience Catlin's work is addressed. It restates and presumably reaffirms the Anglo-Saxon "Tradition" as opposed to the other great ideologies of race and class.

There is no pretense of saying anything new in itself, but rather of rearranging it or saying it better. The rearrangement would seem to the reviewer apt to confuse rather than enlighten any group of readers of whom he can think, unless they are already fairly familiar with the views which Catlin reasserts. The specialist in political philosophy may find occasional references to Hooker and a few other forgotten worthies to pique his curiosity, but after all, a longer study, from the same source, of the history of political philosophy is just out. The restatement is not helpful, since individual sentences are clogged down with parentheses and with words of Latin derivation ("Needed a communism of communalism"), when others, flavored by a good old Anglo-Saxon tradition, exist which are equally potent for the purpose in view.

Whatever possible value the work might have had as a vague, diffuse, and non-concrete plea for a federation of the free peoples was utterly destroyed by the almost simultaneous appearance of Streit's *Union Now*, which is to this book as the *Federalist* papers are to any ordinary oration by a college president on American democracy.

Gibbon and Bell have studied one of the great examples of the "Anglo-Saxon genius" for government. But they also seem not to have had any particular audience in mind. Obviously they wrote hastily, but they would have been better advised to cover only half as much ground and cover it more thoroughly. No ordinary person, not even a Londoner, is going to read seven hundred not particularly thrilling pages, even if the history is a semi-centennial volume. On the other hand, the scholar will find no attempt at a presentation of general problems, no particularly useful organization, no significant comparison, no systematic attempt at citing sources of information. (But just enough footnotes are used to show that the authors aspired to scholarship—an aspiration painfully belied by their frequent use of such analytical terms as "spirit of cooperation.") Some aspiring student of public administration ought to obtain access to all the material open to the co-authors and prepare a systematic study on the basis of it.

LEWIS A. DEXTER

Rollins College

We Didn't Ask Utopia. By HARRY and REBECCA TIMBRES. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xiii+290. \$2.50.

The title belies the book, because it is clever, which the book is not. It is a more or less straightforward account, told in letters, apparently entirely spontaneous, and in a journal, which has one eye definitely cocked on the reader.

Sections of the book are of interest to sociologists for the same reason that any account of a different and unrecorded culture is. This deals with Russia a long way from the capitol, as it was lived, not just seen. It is clear enough that under certain circumstances, at any rate, there is much pleasantness in Russia for more or less ordinary workers, a fact which

readers of Eugene Lyons might doubt. The authors tell just enough of the process of group criticism in unions to raise a multitude of questions in the sociological mind, and there are two or three interesting sidelights on the categorization of virtues in this society.

On the whole, however, the chief value of the publication is to provide you with something to give your in-laws who believe that all the "human" impulses disappear under a dictatorship—and only then if they do not mind wading through a good deal of rather strained facetiousness.

LEWIS A. DEXTER

Rollins College

Peaceful Change, Procedures, Population, Raw Materials, Colonies: Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference. Ed. by MAURICE BOURQUIN. Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, 1938. Pp. 685. \$4.00.

Peaceful Change is a summary volume containing the cooperative contributions of the experts of many countries under the auspices of the Tenth International Studies Conference of the League of Nations with the view toward solving the knotty problems of the world's supply of raw materials, the dense and sparse areas of the population of the globe, the maldistribution of the world's colonies, and the Danubian Question. This volume is a companion to the earlier study made by the Ninth International Studies Conference entitled *Collective Security*, and together they purport to solve the ills of the world in a reasonable and sane way. The investigation is to be continued under the general title of "Economic Policies in Relation to World Peace."

The experts whose ideas appear in *Peaceful Change* come to no definite conclusions as to how to solve these problems, but they do make many suggestions. Most of these are in conflict with one another, but they are all hopeful and encouraging. One wishes that the experts of the "Have-Not" countries, such as Germany and Italy, could have participated more freely in this conference, since they were present only as observers. However the points of view of these countries were adequately presented.

What impresses one most in this book are the analyses of the various problems. The suggested solutions are frequently tainted with nationalist bias. What troubles the reviewer most is whether any of the proposed suggestions can be executed. Shall it be by the imperative methods of another League of Nations? Or shall we wait until the nations of the world realize the folly of the instrumentality of war to solve these problems?

Thanks are due the editor, Maurice Bourquin, for preparing this masterful summary of the opinions and memoranda of the many experts. The volume is a most enlightening treasury of information on the perplexing problems of raw materials, population, and colonies.

Without going into the book's discussion of the value of the supplies of raw material for peace and war, it is very interesting as to its proposed solutions. They include: the redistribution of colonies, international chartered

corporations, clearing systems, international control of restriction schemes, attenuation of protectionism, etc.

In the matter of demography, *Peaceful Change* suggests as solutions for overpopulation and underpopulation such ideas as migration, internal colonization, industrialization, and colonial expansion. Students of population will do well to read this section of the book, but should be on their guard, for the advantages and disadvantages of these solutions are presented frequently with considerable national bias of the experts. Little confidence is expressed in the possibility of remedying overpopulation by these methods. The necessity of a revival of world economy and a freer exchange of raw materials, goods, services, and capital is stressed as an essential condition of the ultimate solution of population and migration difficulties.

The best section of the book is the one on colonies. The assets and liabilities of imperialism are treated first. Then follows an illuminating discussion on proposed recommendations. Among them are: repeal of restriction on colonial immigration, equal opportunities for aliens in the colonies, free access to colonial resources, international cooperation in the exploitation of colonial resources, the mandate system, open-door policy, transfer of colonial territory, and many others.

J. H. LANDMAN

College of the City of New York

Organized Labour in Four Continents. By H. A. MARQUAND and OTHERS. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939. Pp. xiii+518. \$4.00.

Principles and Problems of Indian Labour Legislation. By RAJANI KANTA DAS. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1938. Pp. xiv+281. 4s. 6d.

Unions of Their Own Choosing. By R. R. R. BROOKS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. ix+296. \$3.00.

South of Joplin, Story of a Tri-State Diggin's. By L. S. DAVIDSON. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1939. Pp. 290. \$2.75.

The Prevailing Minimum Wage Standard. By O. R. STRACKBEIN. Washington: Graphic Arts Press, 1939. Pp. vii+187. \$2.50.

Self-Help Cooperatives in Los Angeles. By CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO and OTHERS. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. vii+147. \$1.50.

If the struggle over labor issues could be adequately described in terms of a fight to modify the rights of parties to the struggle, the pattern of the labor movement and labor legislation would be much simpler. But such a description is not adequate. An equally important clue to the multitude of social and economic activities focused on the problems of labor is the need for making the solutions to these problems consistent with and effective within the whole framework of social institutions existing at any particular time and in any particular society.

The magnitude and variety of the problems growing out of this need are clearly revealed in this group of books. The most comprehensive is the col-

lection of articles under the competent editorship of H. A. Marquand on the labor movement and labor legislation since 1919 in the thirteen chief industrial nations of the world. The interest of society at large in the arrangements for the solution of labor problems is vividly portrayed in the large degree to which legislative measures have been used to improve the conditions of the working classes and in the development of societal channels for the resolution of conflicts in industrial relations. The tendency to absorb the issues of industrial relations in devising plans of economic reorganization in the interest of a higher standard of living for all is also noteworthy. Labor itself has devoted much of its attention to this larger effort. Indeed much of the constant recurring conflict between the revolutionary and conservative elements in the labor movements of the several nations has hinged on differences in goal and tactics with respect to this major issue. The trend in Japan, Germany, and Italy has resulted in the practical disappearance of the labor movement in forms familiar to other industrial nations and has produced a distinctive type of labor organization in Russia which has little in common with that of capitalistic nations.

A book of this sort will be welcomed by students of labor everywhere. One could wish that the several authors had given more attention to the analysis and interpretation of the encyclopedia of facts which they have presented. With the exception of Marquand's excellent account of the English situation and Perlman's essay on the American labor scene, the authors have produced a handbook, not an interpretive document. But it is a useful and well-organized handbook and fills a real gap in our literature on labor.

The series of lectures by Das on Indian labor legislation cannot be so highly recommended. The first hundred pages contain a short survey of the content of that legislation. It is descriptive rather than critical and will be useful chiefly to those familiar enough with the political and economic facts of Indian life to discover the significance of the detail in its larger setting. The rest of the book is a repetition of the facts given in the first part in order to illustrate elementary generalizations about the principles and problems of labor legislation. The chief interest for students of the problem is in the fact that what progress has been made has resulted not from pressure from organized labor, but from other sources interested in bringing the conditions of labor in India into line with those in countries in economic competition with her. Chiefly active in this pressure have been English cotton manufacturers and the International Labor Organization. The effectiveness of this latter stimulus toward better labor standards is amply demonstrated, for a great deal of the legislation has been in response to Conventions and Recommendations of that body.

The remaining books in this group deal specifically with the problems of labor in the United States. For those who have not had the time or the inclination to follow the voluminous releases which the National Labor Relations Board has issued for the information of the public and the defense of its activities, Brooks' book will furnish an excellent guide to the issues in this controversial area of American industrial relations. This is not to say that *Unions of Their Own Choosing* is uncritical of the work of the

Board. But those who have criticized the Board have in many cases had a false conception of its purpose, and in any case have not documented their criticisms and supported them with convincing evidence with the same care as have the defenders of the Board. Any impartial commentator, therefore, who wishes to give full weight to facts on both sides finds himself severely handicapped. Whatever may be said of the mistakes the Board has made, few persons will be inclined to deny after reading Brooks' clear and forceful presentation of the case for the National Labor Relations Act that some such device was necessary in American industrial life to remove the barriers which stood in the way of the organization of labor, or that the industrial jurisprudence which lays the foundation for industrial peace could be developed without the removal of those barriers. *Unions of Their Own Choosing* should in a convincing way bring these issues before all who read it. The discussion of the issues is enlivened by the description of the functioning of the Board in actual cases.

If any further evidence of the need for a removal of those barriers to collective bargaining is needed it will be found in *South of Joplin*, an exciting account of labor conflict in the Tri-state lead mining area. (Incidentally, this is the conflict considered in a recent N.L.R.B. decision.) The book is written in the form of a first-hand record of the author's visit to the area which had earlier been her home. The description of outright warfare against organized labor carried on by the employers of the region, with the use of every device from manipulation of local prejudices to gun-play, from appeals to pride to threats to the already degrading standard of living of the workers, is vivid evidence of the need for some agency which can remove such problems in social organization and economic life from the field of battle to the council room for collective bargaining. The inconsistency of such industrial feudalism with the growth of the democratic community is obvious. The author has given vivid word pictures of the workers of the area with no attempt to make heroes or saints of them. Her story is the more effective and useful because of that, for those social arrangements are poorly devised which assume a heroic or saintly character on the part of those individuals whose lives are ordered by such arrangements.

The attempt to raise standards of living by legislative methods was revealed by Marquand's study as a dominant trend on the labor front in all countries. Strackbein's study deals with one phase of that trend in the United States represented in the Walsh-Healey Act. This act attempts to exclude poor labor conditions and rates of pay from among the factors giving a competitive advantage to any bidders for public contracts. The author is a member of the Public Contracts Board and therefore speaks with authority on the difficulties and possibilities in administering the "prevailing minimum wage rates" clause of that Act. The book should be read by all those who wish to accomplish economic reform by legislative means. Its statement of the progress by which a public policy is transformed into actual public regulation will be revealing reading for those who assume that the passing of laws can solve economic problems. The interpretation of the will of Congress embodied in sometimes obscure phrases, the studies of the

facts, the perplexing problems faced in interpreting the facts, the need to take account of special factors, present a far from simple task. The public policy of preventing the gravitation of government contracts to firms with competitive advantages resident in the payment of less than prevailing minima is laudable. Giving effect to that policy involves wrestling with realistic facts of which legislators (to judge from the wording of the Act) had little conception. But the author became conscious of those facts as an administrator and has done an excellent if sometimes repetitious job of setting them forth. Students will find little evaluation of the degree to which the Act has succeeded in its purpose or of the effectiveness of its administration. But the reader gets a clear impression of the fact that administrators define more surely than legislators what the law shall be and are the chief media through which government devices are molded to the realistic facts of economic and social life and institutions.

In these several accounts of the varied adjustments to need in the field of industrial relations, the important role played by the workers themselves in the process has been evident. Their attempts to modify the terms of the labor contract are the appropriate self-maintenance means taken by those whose livelihood must depend on those terms. But the initiative and energy devoted to that task do not disappear when no contract is offered, that is, when the worker is unemployed. Panunzio's study of self-help cooperatives in Los Angeles is adequate evidence of that fact. This research report is a careful summary of many facts about this interesting example of the survival of self-reliance in the midst of circumstances in which the normal avenues of self-reliance in our culture have been closed. Few facts descriptive of these organizations have been omitted from the report; and yet economists will wish that the survey had thrown more light on the actual development of techniques, such as accounting arrangements, evaluation and pricing of goods and services; and sociologists will wish for a clearer demonstration of the process by which the techniques of management and self-government were developed and of the evolution of group ways, status relationships, and group solidarity out of the application of human energy and intelligence to a baffling problem. Much more theoretical importance could be assigned to this work if those processes were more adequately described by which a group of workers starting almost literally with nothing but their power to labor developed a self-maintenance system which filled at least a part of their economic needs.

E. WIGHT BAKKÉ

Yale University

Social Security in the United States: Report of Twelfth National Conference on Social Security. New York: American Association for Social Security, Inc., 1939. Pp. 235. \$2.00.

We have here a record of the Twelfth National Conference on Social Security held in New York City, on April 14 and 15, 1939. In general the numerous papers it contains cover the following topics: looking ahead in

old-age security; a reconsideration of the old-age insurance system; lessons in unemployment insurance; integrating social insurance and relief; facing health insurance; and towards the social security goal. In the appendix are found the results of a census of social security.

Most of the articles are instructive, stimulating, and timely. Some go beyond the specific, smaller problems and attempt to deal with underlying social and economic maladjustments. George E. Bigge, a member of the Social Security Board, for example, did this in his paper on "The Larger Goal of Social Security." His conclusion was that "The biggest single problem we face in our struggle toward the goal of genuine social security for our people as a whole is not the problem of providing for the needy either in childhood or in old age, either through charity or through insurance. Neither is the problem of caring for the unemployed . . . The real, fundamental problem before us is that of providing such conditions that every individual who is able and willing to provide for himself will have an opportunity to do so and doing that without sacrificing our free institutions—social, political, and economic."

Such emphasis on preventive measures is especially gratifying to the harassed taxpayer and to the social scientist engaged in the study of the more fundamental social and economic problems.

CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

Connecticut College

Sidney Hillman, Labor Statesman. By GEORGE SOULE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xiii+237. \$2.50.

The origin of this book lay in the fact that Soule and certain of his associates felt that the story of the successful operation of the democratic process ought to be told in this time of all-too-frequent despair at the future of democracy. It is the story of a competent leader and his leadership—but also the story of the integration of that leadership into a going concern, into a social organization, a union, in which the members have been infused with knowledge, understanding, responsibility, and power. It is the story of Sidney Hillman and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The story is significant in its ample illustration of two basic principles: (1) he who wants power must seize it; (2) he who wants to retain power must use it responsibly and intelligently. Acceptance of these principles led Hillman to drive toward strong unions—strong in terms of organization, of wealth, of good public relations; to push constantly into unorganized fields; to assist other responsible unions and to support political action promoting unionization and collective bargaining; to work out an extraordinarily effective strategy for obtaining collective bargaining agreements and winning favorable contracts. Further, he acted on the view that collective bargaining must advance the employer's interests as well as protect labor; it must not put the cooperating employer at a competitive disadvantage. As a consequence, according to Soule, Sidney Hillman has the lasting respect of almost any employer with whom he has dealt.

While a brief preliminary sketch of Hillman's life is presented, the story really begins with his association with Hart, Schaffner & Marx, and carries on through the birth of the Amalgamated, the struggle to develop and consolidate strength, the intelligently effective elimination of racketeers, the strategically brilliant assault on unorganized Philadelphia, the "unionization" of scientific management, the inspiring of Senator La Follette's senatorial committee hearings on economic planning, the constructive work on the NRA Labor Advisory Board, the founding of Labor's Non-Partisan League, and the organization and independence of the C.I.O.

Soule's treatment is laudatory (too replete with adjectives) but intelligent. He gives a fair amount of background. The combination of his style and intra-chapter organization is at times unattractive in that the volume does not quite "click" as good biographical reading though the subject and the substance seem to be there. Anyone interested in what makes democracy a success will do well to introduce himself to the subject through this book.

HARVEY PINNEY

New York University

Family Disorganization. Rev. ed. By ERNEST R. MOWRER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xvi+356. \$3.00.

Of those persons owning first editions of this book only specialists in Chicago ecology will get their money's worth out of the revised edition. The book has been changed only by the addition of a brief chapter concerning recent statistical trends, and by revision of a rather brief bibliography. The specialist will find, in addition, the recent figures concerning the incidence of divorce in the United States and revised maps showing the distribution of divorce and desertion in the Chicago area. The ecologist may find some satisfaction in comparing the new maps with the old.

Sociologists at large, rereading the book proper, will have the interesting experience of examining a good book with the perspective provided by a decade of sociological progress. Unlike a Shakespearian play, it will not seem full of quotations, but much will seem familiar because of general acceptance of what was originally new. Mowrer cleared away a goodly amount of moralistic rubbish, and established clearly the basic distinction between family disorganization and family disintegration. His analysis of social forces affecting the family institution is still stimulating. The brilliant case study analysis of Miriam Donovan makes one regret that few diaries have fallen into the hands of equally competent sociologists during the last decade. His family areas still adorn the pages of textbooks, but his type tensions seem to be replaced by more refined tools of analysis. His criticism of the statistical method as applied to the study of family disorganization, in the light of achievements by Burgess, Cottrell, and Terman, seems to be chiefly valid as applied to the sterile manipulation of inadequate figures supplied by governmental agencies.

The book may have been revised in response to a commercial rather than a sociological need. Readers of the first edition may be disappointed; others

may be lured by unwarranted expectations of modernity to become acquainted with an old yet thoroughly worth-while book.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota

Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage. By ERNEST W. BURGESS and LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xxiv + 472. \$2.50.

This book is a splendid contribution to modern sociological research. Unfortunately, it is difficult to describe its merits and defects within the space of a brief review. The authors have undertaken a long and painstaking research, with a view to developing an instrument for the measurement of marital adjustment and the relating of marital adjustment scores to factors in the backgrounds of the individuals concerned. It was hoped that substantial steps could be taken toward the prediction of marital success from antecedent circumstances and personality traits knowable at the time of marriage.

Several thousand schedules were sent out, but since the return was not especially high, the study was restricted to 526 marriages. Ratings of marital happiness were obtained upon a five-degree scale. These ratings showed rather extraordinary agreement between husband and wife, marriage partner, and outside observer. These ratings were taken, therefore, as the basis for a broader index of marital adjustment. Agreement between partners, community of interest, demonstration of affection, dissatisfaction with marriage, and personal unhappiness were weighted in terms of degree of association with marital happiness ratings. Thus an index of marital adjustment was derived having satisfactory reliability and validity, at least in the opinion of the authors. Marital adjustment scores were related to cultural background, psychogenetic characteristics, social type, economic role, and response patterns. Many interesting and statistically significant relationships were brought forth. The statistical analysis was buttressed by a series of case studies, certain of which are presented in the text. The case studies are admirably interpreted with the aid of basic hypotheses concerning the continuity between childhood and adult forms of experience in the family situation.

The latter part of the book is devoted to an account of the derivation of prediction scores based on background factors found to be related to marital adjustment scores. The Pearsonian correlation between prediction scores and adjustment scores for the 526 couples proved to be $+0.51$. For a new sample of 155 couples the coefficient was $+0.48$. The study concludes with a penetrating analysis of basic problems in prediction. The analysis includes the results of a tentative application of factor analysis, a comparison of obtained results with those of other studies, and valuable suggestions for future research.

Naturally, no pioneer study is without defects. The sampling is admittedly unsatisfactory. The returns from husband and wife should have been separate, and should have been collected in a way which guaranteed

independent response. The internal consistency of the results may be regarded as somewhat spurious and deceptive. It is the possibility of inference, rather than genuine prediction which is demonstrated. The difficult problem of establishing indexes of marital adjustment might well receive a more critical treatment. Certainly what might be called a conventionality motive could explain much of the consistency in marital adjustment ratings and scores. Furthermore, those characteristics of personality and background which imply a desire to keep up appearances correlated markedly with marital adjustment scores.

In spite of defects, many of which the authors are quick to acknowledge, the book has conspicuous and outstanding virtues. The methodological approach is unusually eclectic. Both statistical and case methods are applied with insight and originality. Penetrating hypotheses have been set forth concerning the interaction of roles in the family situation. This book, backed by Terman's recent contribution, gives assurance that the methodology of social science will become adequate to the prediction of *future* marital success of groups if not of individuals.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota

Texas' Children: Report of the Texas Child Welfare Survey. By the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences, University of Texas. Austin: University of Texas, 1938. Pp. 885. Free.

This volume floodlights the vast needs of the children of a vast State. The survey, begun in 1934 by the Texas Relief Commission and assisted in the development of the project by seven other agencies, was completed by the University. Two principal methods of obtaining information were employed: (1) a house-to-house canvass made in the spring and summer of 1934, and (2) an analysis of official county records made between June, 1934, and September, 1935. Of the state's 254 counties, 234 were reached through one or both of these procedures.

Though the study did not attempt to cover a "true sample of conditions of Texas children," but rather to give "a minimum indication of needs of specific groups," the exploration of these needs was so broad in scope as to involve an appraisal of the whole social machinery of the state as it touches the lives of children. "Even where the substance of the statutes is adequate," this machinery was often found antiquated or otherwise ineffective.

Concrete suggestions for filling the gaps in the social machinery include (1) a special system of guardianship courts to handle all children's cases, (2) local public welfare units consisting of one or more counties each coordinating with a State-wide program, and similar health and education units, (3) an active State-wide labor service especially interested in the problems of working children, and (4) a State-wide department of public welfare to coordinate the many services now performed by various boards and divisions of the State government.

The report consists of 885 pages including appendices and indexes. In

spite of its length, forgivable because of the magnitude of the problems discussed, the report is written in a vital and interesting style. The reader who is looking for statistics will be amply rewarded by the 144 tables, 22 maps, and 8 charts and diagrams.

LEONARD F. REQUA, JR.

State Department of Social Welfare
Albany, New York

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work: Sixty-fifth Annual Session, Seattle, Washington, 1938. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. ix+802. \$3.00.

In his presidential address, Solomon Lowenstein, after discussing the challenge of totalitarianism to various forms of spiritual freedom, says that "the final and great test for American democracy" will come "in the comparison of what our method of life can provide in the way of a higher standard of living, of security of condition, and of industrial democracy." This statement is the theme center, as it were, of the 1938 *Proceedings*. The volume constitutes an indispensable record of the achievement and the objectives of social workers in their strivings for the economic and social betterment of daily life in America.

It is regrettable that limitations of space made it possible to include only 65 of 129 papers presented at the Conference.

LEONARD F. REQUA, JR.

State Department of Social Welfare
Albany, New York

A Survey of Oxford and the Social Services. Vol. I: The Economics and Government of a Changing Area. London: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. xiv+367, 57 maps and diagrams. \$5.00.

A standing committee of Barnett House has undertaken the responsibility for a survey of the statutory and voluntary social services in Oxford and the area adjacent to it. The first volume, which has appeared, gives a picture of the economic characteristics of the district and a description of the administrative structures existing. This first volume was prepared by voluntary workers with the help of Miss E. Ackroyd and financed by the University from the Rockefeller Benefaction for the Development of Social Studies. The area covered does not coincide with local governmental administration, but is rather a study of the area of influence of Oxford.

Fields of inquiry covered include Geography, Population, Industrial Migration, Occupations, Industry, Unemployment, Retail Shops, Agriculture, Structure of Local Government, Finance of Local Government, and Law and Order. The presentation of the material under each of the topics mentioned is a general, descriptive cross-section of the area at the time the study was made. Some valuable materials which aid in an understanding and interpretation of the descriptive presentation are contained in the 85 pages of tables and notes to text found in the appendix.

As a whole, however, the volume published is merely a preliminary pres-

entation of the existing status of the economic and governmental situation in the Oxford area without any interpretative analysis. The material presented should be of considerable interest and practical value locally as a basis for a planned program or for social research, but without the two succeeding volumes, the second of which is to deal with the working of the individual social services, and the third to consider the significance of the social studies as a whole, this first volume is too reminiscent of the hundreds of so-called social surveys with which American students are familiar. When the first volume is completed, the reader has a very excellent overview of the Oxford area, and is ready to consider a plan for its further development or to analyze the social processes involved. Since there have been large numbers of similar studies made which have gone as far as this study but have never taken the next steps, one can hardly speak of it as a model or example of what should be done.

M. C. ELMER

University of Pittsburgh

When Social Work Was Young. By EDWARD T. DEVINE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 163. \$1.75.

Method and Skill in Public Assistance. Ed. by ROSA WESSEL. (Vol. II, No. 1 of *The Journal of Social Work Process*). Philadelphia: Pennsylvania School of Social Work, December, 1938 (distributed by Centaur Book Shop, 204 South Juniper St., Philadelphia). Pp. vii+101. \$1.50.

Integrating the Camp, the Community, and Social Work. By LOWELL JUILIARD CARR, MILDRED AILEEN VALENTINE, and MARSHALL H. LEVY. New York: Association Press, 1939. Pp. xi+220. \$2.00.

Medical Information for Social Workers. Ed. by WILLIAM MATTHEW CHAMPION, M.D. Baltimore: William Wood and Co., 1938. Pp. xi+529. \$4.00.

Community Health Organization: A Manual of Administration and Procedure Primarily for Urban Areas. 3rd ed. Ed. by IRA V. HISCOCK. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1939. Pp. xvi+318. \$2.50.

The Problem of Leisure. By HENRY DURANT. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1938. Pp. ix+276. 10s. 6d.

These works have in common some concern with social services. Dr. Devine has had a part in most phases of their development since the 'nineties, although this modest autobiography carries his own story only to 1912. Coming to New York in 1896 as secretary of the Charity Organization Society, he had a hand in the change from charity by volunteers to social case work, and in the movement for tenement house reform and the anti-tuberculosis campaign. He edited *The Survey*, started formal training for social workers, and after the San Francisco "fire" in 1906 set the pattern for Red Cross disaster relief. In retrospect he sees the growth of social work in terms of its changing environment, the changing role of major social institutions.

Method and Skill in Public Assistance exemplifies the change from the volunteer assuming an obvious duty to give moral and spiritual guidance to

(or toward) the trained worker seeing an aid to client participation in the very limitations of agency responsibility (Devine, pp. 41 f.). The still-mooted question of room for social case work in relief receives an emphatic "yes" in these papers ranging in subject from constructive social interaction across the application desk to the necessity for a rounded professional, rather than trade, training in view of the public employee's million employers. That five of the seven papers are based upon master's theses makes the book of interest in the field of social research.

Integrating the Camp, the Community, and Social Work tells what happens when eighty-seven problem boys receive for three years all the adjustive services the community can give them, as appraised by quantitative and qualitative comparison with a paired untreated sample: a slight margin in average health and anti-social behavior ratings, somewhat fewer delinquents, "certain types of the not-too-heavily-handicapped boys aided to better adjustments" (p. 196). The authors conclude that even if psychiatric service were available, social work can only mitigate, offset, or divert, not entirely overcome, "the 'normal' maladjustment-generating pressures of American culture." On the positive side, the experiment developed methods of using specialists, without giving one specialty control, and showed the value of the camp situation in establishing "worker-client relationships." Here is a contribution to social research as well as to social work, which incidentally includes the sociological ingredient missing from many social work studies.

Medical Information for Social Workers offers between covers the course of that name given at the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University, with a bibliography. It includes chapters on choosing a physician (and *vice versa*), and on the relation of social worker and physician: a useful compendium.

The 1939 edition of *Community Health Organization* brings this standard work up to date, again under the auspices of the Committee on Administrative Practices of the American Public Health Association. Listed as newer problems for which standards have not crystallized are nutrition, mental and industrial hygiene, cancer, heart disease, syphilis control, and housing. The discussion of health surveys is concrete and valuable. The book needs no recommendation.

That *The Problem of Leisure* in its chief aspect is the "sharp division which exists for the vast majority of people between their work and their leisure" is the theme of Mr. Durant's illuminating, documented survey of the English situation. Sections on leisure in the machine age and among the various classes of English society, including the unemployed, are followed by one on the cinema, football, racing, and gambling and another on organizations for leisure. Positing self-realization as the ultimate social goal, the author considers satisfying work seen by the doer as part of an organic whole as a necessity. He calls for a change from the paternalistic approach to activities planned in part by the participants, specifically under local public authorities and trade unions, falling not strangely on American ears. The bibliography includes some American titles.

Northwestern University

DAVID K. BRUNER

Fundamental Sociology. By EVA J. ROSS. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+698. \$3.00.

Catholics hold certain fundamentals truths such as the existence of God, man has a spiritual soul which is immortal, and man must save his soul by his life on earth. It is evident that these principles will have many social implications. There is a great amount of theoretical and practical thought available which, while developed by persons who do not, in all cases, believe in the supernatural nature of man's origin and destiny, is not only acceptable but useful and necessary for a sound understanding of society. A number of attempts have been made to write a sociology text consistent with Catholic principles. There is an undoubted need for such a book. Thus far there have been no entirely satisfactory texts. Ross's book is but a slight improvement. The work is ambitious, and the author mentions most writers of sociology, briefly discusses the history and ethics of most of the important social institutions, and also gives the history and present status of many economic and social problems.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One, including seven chapters, is subtitled "The Bases of Sociology." The subject matter of the social sciences, the biology of inheritance, character, environment, personality, culture, the origin of man, and a brief history of social theory are considered. Much of it has no place in a sociology text, and almost no attempt is made to use sociological terminology. In Part Two, Ross discusses social institutions from the point of view of history and social philosophy. There is little sociology in this section. The chapter on the institution of property is representative. Of the twenty-one pages of the chapter, more than six pages are devoted to property rights among primitives, and more than four pages are given to Henry George and his single tax. Part Three is designed to serve as a second semester course in social problems and is the best section of the book, in spite of the fact that it contains much material usually dealt with in economics.

The book is replete with broad, unsupported generalizations. It is marred by errors of fact such as the statement (p. 580) in reference to the immigration act of 1924, where in one paragraph there are at least three errors in statement and one serious omission.

The reviewer, however, would be unjust if he did not acknowledge an excellent bibliography, an outstanding job of book designing and printing, and at least a closer approach to a text suitable for Catholics than has yet been available.

PAUL J. MUNDIE

Marquette University

Major Social Institutions: An Introduction. By CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xxii+609. \$3.50.

The title of this solid new text is both too broad and too narrow to indicate fully its actual scope and content. It is too broad inasmuch as the institutions studied are only those of Western, primarily American, culture;

too narrow in the sense that these institutions are not merely described, but are also analyzed with regard to their underlying environmental and human determinants, their functions, and the process of their development.

The purpose of the book, as stated in the "General Introduction" (pp. 3-4) and the "Suggestions to Students and Teachers" (pp. 515-520), is to make a synthesis of the best of past and current sociological knowledge which will give beginning students a broad foundation in the fundamentals of social structure and social process. To this end Panunzio has divided the book into five parts, dealing respectively with "The Social Institutional Order," "The Factors," "The Institutions," "Social Institutional Processes," and "The Future of Western Society." Each of these sections is a unit in itself; but what gives the book an integrity and breadth of vision rarely found in sociological texts is the author's use of the concept of institutions developed in social anthropology as both point of departure and terminus of his presentation. Hence the basic "social problems," as sketched on this canvas, are those faced by all societies in the satisfaction of their fundamental needs. The pricks and goads of present discontents are thus reduced to their proper proportions.

For his definition of an institution the author is indebted in no small measure to the functional interpretation propounded by Malinowski. Panunzio agrees that "every institution centers around a fundamental need, permanently unites a group of people in a cooperative task and has its particular body of doctrine and its technique of craft." An analysis of any institution, then, must deal with four essential subsystems: concepts, associations of people, usages and rules, and sets of instrumental objects.

Having outlined this concept of institutions the author proceeds with an examination of the roles played in the emergence and development of these blocks of man's organized interests and activities by the physical environment, the human organism, and culture. These "Factors" are the resources on which man has to draw in his institution-building; they are studied in turn to show how they contribute to and condition social life. Although these summaries are more than adequate for purposes of undergraduate instruction, this section would have profited by a clearer statement of the interrelationships of culture traits, culture complexes, and institutions.

Part III, "The Institutions," and Part IV, "Social Institutional Processes," contain the bulk of the factual and theoretical material. In the former, Panunzio analyzes American society and culture under the headings of eight major institutions: marital, familial, economic, educational, recreational, religious, scientific, and governmental. (A ninth, the maintenance, or health, institution is promised in a later edition.) On the whole, the data show a discriminating choice, but the treatment accorded them also raises an important question of method. The casting of these historical and statistical materials into a *developmental* mold does not square at all points with the requirements inherent in the *functional* definition as outlined in Part I. This inconsistency reflects less on the present author's work, how-

ever, than it does on the empirical studies of sociological field workers in modern Western society.

Part IV is an operational analysis of what may be called the life history of Western institutions. Processes of emergence, development, change, struggle, maladjustment, control, persistence, and teleology are considered. Each chapter raises many points for discussion; but these may be thrashed out with more profit in the classroom than in a review. In Part V, "The Future of Western Society," the author briefly summarizes the major patterns of and trends in Western culture and, where the data warrant it, plots circumspectly their probable future development.

A glossary of 172 sociological terms, including the (starred) 60 recommended by the American Sociological Society, is appended. Teachers and students will find this conceptual inventory extremely useful both as a reference and as a challenge. Each chapter is furnished with a list of bibliographical references and the book itself is fully indexed by name and subject.

STEPHEN W. REED

Yale University

Living with Others. By JOHN A. KINNEMAN and ROBERT S. ELLWOOD.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939. Pp. xix+531. \$1.72.

No unanimity exists as to what should be covered by the elementary high school text in sociology. As an "institutional approach" this book is devoted to a simple, rather obvious description of seven institutions: the community, family, state, opinion, industry, school, and church, with brief comments on some of the significant problems which arise in their functioning. As such, the book fulfills its purpose and is accompanied by suitable statistics, graphic illustrations, study helps, both questions and projects, and well-selected bibliographies.

All authors of high school texts are inhibited by the social controls which make it difficult to secure adoption of any book giving an honest evaluation of the economic and social world. But whether secondary students will gain any fair understanding of social life from such superficial descriptions of formal institutions is at best debatable. Even so, the "institutional approach" could *safely* present some understanding of the interdependent and interrelated functioning of church, state, economic organizations, welfare agencies, and press in a local community, state, or nation. This the book fails to do. Nor is there much emphasis upon the subtle methods by which institutional controls are imposed. In a few cases no mention is made of the function of a given institution. The chapter on "The Modern Church" for example makes no reference to the spiritual functions which the church purports to have in helping men meet their difficulties of living and dying in a confused and often painful world. The chapter on the "Radio, Press, and Motion Pictures" is more plain-spoken than most, and the ones on "The Democratic Way" and "Peace and War" are definitely to be commended for their critical analyses of these current problems.

MABEL A. ELLIOTT

University of Kansas

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